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The Shape of Things

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GOVERNOR LEHMAN'S LETTER TO SENATOR Wagner opposing the court plan will probably leave the Senator's vote unchanged. But there can be no doubt that it will strengthen the opposition and stiffen the lines on both sides. We believe that not only court reform but the entire Administration program, and the President's leadership, is now at stake. Governor Lehman could not have thought so, or he would not have timed his letter as he did. Despite his friendship with the President and their comradeship in a common progressive cause, he may have deemed it his duty to express his views and preserve his integrity. But we should respect his integrity the more if the letter were not timed to affect the vote over the Senate leadership, which may decide the fate of the court bill and the President's whole program. The voice was that of the governor: is it possible that the hand was that of his friends in the banking fraternity?

*

GREAT BRITAIN'S PROPOSAL FOR GRANTING belligerent rights to Franco on condition that "progress" is made toward the withdrawal of foreign "volunteers" fits neatly with the devastating appraisal of British foreign policy presented elsewhere in this issue by Robert Dell. From the beginning of the Spanish conflict, British Conservatives have been caught in an apparently insoluble dilemma. By inclination and temperament they have favored a rebel victory. At the same time it has been evident that a victory for Franco might give Germany and Italy a permanent foothold in Spain, which would be a direct threat to Britain's imperial and economic interests. The present proposal seemed to offer a solution to this perplexing dilemma. Removal of foreign "volunteers" would reduce the probability of Germany or Italian domination of Spain, while the granting of belligerent rights to the rebels might make it possible for the rebels to win, through the imposition of a blockade, without the assistance of the fascist powers. Fortunately, events in Spain and resistance from France and the Soviet Union may prevent this diabolical scheme from becoming a reality. Incidents such as the recent seizure by the rebels of a British ship should dim British enthusiasm for a rebel victory, while the new strength exhibited by the government armies at Madrid may persuade the Foreign Office belatedly that it has bet on the wrong horse. In the great battle which marked the first anniversary of the rebellion the Loyalists have shown their ability to stand

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firm against the greatest of rebel concentrations. Victory for the government now seems only a matter of time, if France and Russia can show equal firmness on the international front.

*

ADD MIDDLE-CLASS FEARS TO EMPLOYER SELF-interest to strong-arm brutality and what do you get? For the moment you get a movement like that launched last week by the National Citizens' Committee at Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The statement issued by that assemblage was a call to "loyal American citizens" to take the law into their own hands. It wasn't put that way. The authorities were accused of permitting the violation of constitutional rights and the "citizens" were given the duty of "restoring and protecting" those rights. But this, translated into simple American, is lynch law. Ordinary violence on either side in a labor struggle is of little consequence beside action such as this. For the resolutions issued by the Johnstown meeting and published in full-page advertisements throughout the country were revolutionary in all their implications. And America is not yet ready for fascist revolution. In fact the meeting will undoubtedly create its own opposition. Senator Wagner has announced that the National Labor Relations Board should investigate the men, money, and motives behind the new movement; Ray Daniell, writing in the New York *Times,* has revealed the fine American hand of John Price Jones, publicity firm, in the organization of the committee; and still other observers have hinted that Grace finances stand back of Jones finesse. More will be learned about this little revolution before it is liquidated.

*

WHILE THE FARM TENANTS HAVE BEEN LET down shabbily by the new compromise legislation, which we discuss elsewhere, independent farmers remain the darlings of Congress. Back in 1933 the Farm Credit Administration was set up to take the farmers out of the doldrums. With it went emergency legislation fixing the interest rate on farm mortgages well below the market rate. Now President Roosevelt has vetoed a new bill to extend the emergency for two years and provide for loans on farm mortgages at 3½ per cent the first year and 4 per cent the second. Mr. Roosevelt's veto, written probably on the recommendation of Governor Myers of the Farm Credit Administration, is a sensible document, just as his past three bonus vetoes were. But it stood no more chance in the House than did the bonus vetoes. The President pleaded that farm income had doubled, that farm prices were up, and that the bill would cost the Treasury $50,000,000 and play havoc with budget balancing. His pleas were met not so much with argument as with indifference. "Many of you have lived on a farm, as I have," said Chairman Jones of the Agriculture Committee to the House. That was argument enough for three-quarters of the members. Farmer-Laborites, liberal Democrats, and other progressives voted to override the veto, along with conservatives of both parties who welcomed the chance to hit at the President. It is not the first time that a farm measure has made strange bedfellows.

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES Committee on Technological Trends and Social Policy stands as a monumental illustration of the possibilities of planning in a country as advanced technically as the United States. A dramatic picture is drawn of possible developments in the field of science and the effects of those developments on society. The committee points out that many of the experiments which are now being carried on with air-conditioning, prefabricated houses, tray agriculture, artificial cotton, and the photo-electric cell will have results of great potential value to humanity; but that each new labor-saving invention will throw thousands of skilled workers on the scrap heap along with the discarded process. While the committee is correct in asserting that much social dislocation could be avoided by coordinated, long-range planning, it must not be assumed that planning consists merely of preparing elaborate reports which are filed away in the government archives. The mechanism for true social and economic planning has not yet been created in this country and cannot be as long as business interests balk even the mildest invasion of the government into the economic field.

*

NEITHER HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS nor economic horse sense has been able to stop the wholesale cuts in work relief for needy persons. "William P. Farnsworth, administrative officer of the Federal Theater Project," we read in the New York *Times,* "was instructed by WPA executives in Washington not to defer the dismissal of 1,708 workers from his project *for any reason"* (our italics). The brutality of this order is matched by the cold chauvinism with which Congress added to the relief-appropriation bill a rider barring from employment on work relief not only non-citizens illegally in the United States, but aliens who have not declared their intention to become citizens. A companion clause provides that preference must be given to war veterans. All aliens are accordingly being dropped from work-relief rolls, whether they have any means of subsistence or not. The protests of organizations of the unemployed may be expected to increase; they should be seconded with telegrams and letters by those who feel that to cut down relief in this arbitrary fashion is to accelerate the next crisis and by those who merely feel that letting people go hungry is a cruel and dangerous way of saving money.

*

THERE ARE TWENTY-ONE NAZI CAMPS IN America now. The twenty-first, Camp Nordland, was opened last Sunday at Andover, New Jersey, amid military pomp and grotesque speech-making. Everything was there that could be transported from the mother-heaven in Germany—the swastika, the goose-step, the Nazi salute, and Fritz Kuhn as *Führer.* The Nazi-American storm troops (the *Ordnungsdienst,* they are called: OD for short, instead of SA) marched in military formation, in natty new uniforms with Sam Browne belts. The speeches were terrific. "We are living in a day of exaggerated tolerance where we have let aliens, absolute

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aliens, come in and partake of the things we have built up," shouted Dr. Salvatore Caridi, one of the *duci* of the Italian-American fascists. And he and other speakers proceeded to attack that "absolute alien" John L. Lewis and his whole "alien" organization. The attack on the C. I. O. by the American Nazis is significant. Following the lead of Goebbels, who assailed Lewis in the *Angriff* on July 5, the Nazis are dedicating a good part of the energies of their American organization to the attempt to smash the C. I. O. At a meeting at the Hotel Biltmore several weeks ago, at which Kuhn was reelected *Führer,* the German-American Volksbund took an anti-strike oath. Add to that the revelations of the tie-up between the Nazis and the vigilante organizations in the Michigan automobile area, and you have the emerging pattern of American fascism. The German-Americans are welcome to camps and speech-making. But when they resort to vigilantism they are outside the pale of the law. And Congress should consider legislation which would outlaw all uniformed bodies that engage in military drill.

*

"FOR THE HIGHEST FUEHRERS ONLY" WAS THE way Alfred Rosenberg marked his "strictly confidential" encyclical letter as the head of the Nazi neo-pagan movement. This encyclical, sent to the New York *Times* by a special correspondent in Munich, is the most valuable account we have thus far seen of the aims and methods of the anti-Catholic measures taken by the Nazis. It strips these measures of all their elaborate pretense, and shows that the Nazis regard the Catholic persecutions as necessary steps in the displacement of Christianity by neo-paganism. It speaks of the "skilful exploitation of a few smuggling cases and the masterful staging of the moral turpitude trial" as having had "a most devastating effect on priestly authority." It proclaims triumphantly that the church is fighting "with her back to the wall," that "there is no Catholic press to speak of," and that the Catholic schools are so rigidly regulated as to have become indistinguishable from the Hitler schools. And all this has been accomplished, Dr. Rosenberg boasts, under the pretense of adherence to Christianity. There were some neo-pagan leaders who preferred an open break, notably Hauer, Dinter, and Reventlow, but they were silenced by the state. It was found easier to absorb Christianity slowly into the new movement than to reject it outright. Hence, although Rosenberg, who calls himself "the despiser of the Papacy," has been put in charge of Germany's spiritual life, the Nazi leaders still pretend formally to be Christians. Their Christ, however, is "the modern Christ—a tall, lean, strong, light-haired Nordic fighter."

*

A BEAUTIFUL FRIENDSHIP HAS BEEN ENDED. Jefferson Caffery has gone from Cuba to seek his diplomatic fortune in Brazil, and Colonel Fulgencio Batista must comfort himself with the services of Butler Wright, the new American Ambassador in Havana. There are signs that Batista is already suffering from a sense of insecurity. He has been talking about a three-year plan for Cuba, where the economic situation is at present a bit worse than usual. The plan remains vague talk—Batista is even reported to have said that it is not yet typed—and close students of his rule are frankly skeptical of the plan's future. They see in it rather a sign of uneasiness and, along with the talk of amnesty, a demagogic attempt to draw attention away from the corruption and terror in Cuba which have reached a pitch unequaled since Machado's heyday. These same observers point out that if Mr. Wright should exercise his American privilege to praise democracy and civil liberty out loud in Cuba he could become a hero overnight and his words, like the shouts of Joshua, might bring walls tumbling down, in this case the walls of Batista's dictatorship. Meanwhile the American press and public, so easily aroused over the excesses of a Hitler in Spain three thousand miles away, might well turn their attention to the sorrows of Cuba, where terror reigns and a second-string farce of "non-intervention" is being played out with the Cafferys and the Welleses and the Wall Street bankers in the leading roles.

*

THE MOST HOPEFUL ASPECT OF THE WORLD Conference on Church, Community, and State, which opened last week in Oxford, England, has been the recognition of the need for militant intervention in political and economic life if the church is to survive. As might be expected, the conference has lined up unanimously against the idea of a national church as proposed in Germany. It has sought to build up a positive ideal of human brotherhood to set against the divisive and war-making tendencies of nationalism. Beyond this the Protestant church is apparently not willing to go, even to assure its own survival. In the fragmentary reports which have been thus far received there is no indication that the conference as a whole is prepared to apply the teachings of the church to the basic injustices of our times, or to make a frontal attack on the world forces which have throttled free religion in the Reich. A church which is silent in the face of falsehood, intimidation, and terrorism such as are being used in that country and many others to prevent men from bettering their standards of living will almost certainly put up no resistance to the ultimate terrorization which will put the church itself out of existence.

*

ONE OF THE NOTABLE PUBLICATIONS OF THE year has just been issued by the American Civil Liberties Union. "Let Freedom Ring" tells the story of the nation-wide fight for civil rights in this past year of economic and political tension. The document cannot be summarized; it must be read. Its impact comes from the mass of fact that fills its pages: the detailed record of repression, of violence, of censorship, and, on the other side, of growing militant resistance to injustice. The story is by no means disheartening; rather it offers a challenge that should be irresistible to all Americans who still care about their country's future.

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Death and Politics

NO sooner was Senator Robinson's death known than it became the occasion for political maneuvering in Washington. We don't want to moralize over the fact, but we believe that both sides showed an undue avidity in turning death to the service of their aims. The nation is learning that the vaster the social issues involved in a struggle, the more ruthless are the weapons with which it is fought. It is no pink tea that is being staged currently in the capital. Nor is it even the usual kind of midsummer madness that comes with the jungle heat and the end-of-session fraying of nerves. It is a desperate struggle over a progressive legislative program—a struggle in which the liberal Democrats and their radical Republican and Farmer-Labor allies are arrayed against the tightest united front of reactionaries that the nation has witnessed in many years. It is in the nature of history that while the long-time trends are shaped by the great social movements, immediate alignments are at the mercy of just such tricks of fate as the death of the man who, next to the President, was the key figure in the current legislative and party crisis.

It was thus inevitable that Senator Robinson's death should have sharp political consequences. Not only was he probably slated as Justice Van Devanter's successor; as Senate majority leader he also bore the brunt of carrying through not only the court compromise bill but the rest of the essential Administration program as well. He was a sturdy party wheel-horse, endowed with a stubborn strength and intelligence. Yet paradoxically his death, putting it in cold terms, rescues Mr. Roosevelt from a quandary. If the President had named Robinson for the court, his first appointment would have been a man whose conservatism was as intrinsic as that of Van Devanter himself. Such a choice would have had to be balanced by that of a real progressive, thus causing Mr. Roosevelt's first two court appointments to cancel out. Moreover, Senator Robinson's death gave Senator Barkley a good chance to succeed to the party leadership in the Senate. And Senator Barkley could at least be counted upon actively to support the measures which must follow.

Thus, however much the President personally mourns the loss of a close and devoted friend, the inherent consequences of Senator Robinson's death should be, in political terms, favorable to the President's larger program. It was to offset these consequences that the reactionary bloc quickly swung into action. They moved quietly, among the more lukewarm supporters of the bill, to get a vote that would send it back to the committee and thus shelve it not only for this term but undoubtedly for good. They sent a deputation of these supporters to the President, suggesting that he could retreat now with good face. Most important, they sought through a newspaper campaign to give the impression that the President was already on the run. Reporters were told that Senate sentiment had, with Robinson's death, finally swung completely against the court bill; and names of Senators were even mentioned as having switched—a charge which in every case proved false. Throughout this campaign the attempt was to link the court program with the taboo of death. Dr. Copeland unctuously warned his colleagues in his most professional tones that their health demanded the adjournment of Congress. Senator Wheeler announced in a pompous statement that to pass the court bill would, after the warning of Senator Robinson's death, be tantamount to flouting the will of God. General Johnson, in one of the most violent of his splenetic columns, implied that Senator Robinson's death must be laid at the President's door, since Mr. Roosevelt had driven his Senate leader beyond his strength in "the black hole of Calcutta" and made him a martyr to a cause in which he did not believe.

The President's letter to Senator Barkley spiked this whole movement effectively. It administered a sharp rebuke to the opposition for its tactics. And above all, it made it abundantly clear that Mr. Roosevelt had no intention of retreating either on the court bill or on the rest of his program.

The time has come to shift the perspective in which liberals have been viewing the proposal for court reform. It is not merely a first step toward the overthrow of judicial supremacy in America. It is the key to the whole Administration program of Mr. Roosevelt's second term. We do not refer merely to the logical connection between court reform and the necessary social legislation. More important at this juncture is the psychological connection. The opposition, thoroughly frightened both by the projected New Deal program and by the growing strength of labor, is out to break both for good. Their path, as they see it, lies through breaking Mr. Roosevelt's prestige and his leadership of his party. They have picked the court proposal as their best bet.

But once they have forced Mr. Roosevelt to retreat on the court bill, they will harry the Administration forces until they have surrendered all along the line. We quote from a wire sent to various prominent industrialists by Frank E. Gannett in his capacity as chairman of the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government:

> If court battle is lost next move will be to jam through pending bills setting up one-man rule over industry, agriculture, and labor. Our fight will build opposition to these other dictatorial measures.

That lets the cat out of the bag. The eye of these newspaper owners and big industrialists, and the eye of their senatorial champions, is on the real object. And the real object is not to rescue the "independence of the judiciary," but to kill the movement for control of industry and the increased strength of labor. And Mr. Roosevelt knows as well as anyone that the court opposition is only a set-up for a larger battle. He is not the headstrong and dictatorial figure he is reported to be by the yes-men of the press. He is a thorough realist, aware that if he should give up court reform he would be giving up not only court reform but the rest of his program as well. He would have to fight every inch of the way for the Black-Connery labor-standards bill, for Senator Norris's power and regional-planning bill, for the ever-

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normal granary measure and the farm-tenancy measure. And he would have to carry on this fight with forces whose morale was shattered, against a triumphant and continually more demanding enemy.

War in the East?

TEN days have passed since the first clash between Chinese and Japanese troops on the outskirts of Peiping. The fact that war has not actually broken out may be taken as an indication that neither country instigated the clash in order to precipitate hostilities. The danger of war remains, however. Japan has made it plain that it will not allow any interference with its program of political and economic exploitation in North China. It is willing to allow Nanking only fictional sovereignty over the region. Nanking's rejection of the Japanese ultimatum, on the other hand, indicates that Chinese nationalism has risen to such a pitch that it will tolerate no further Japanese aggression. Although neither government wishes war at present, it is evident that both are prepared to fight rather than give way on a question involving both "face" and fundamental interests.

General Sung's capitulation momentarily eased the local situation in North China, but it did not in the least affect Nanking's attitude. Sung virtually had no alternative. His small army was isolated from the main Chinese armies in Southern Hopei by the Japanese positions along the Peiping-Tientsin and Peiping-Hankow railroads, he himself was practically held a prisoner by the Japanese forces at Tientsin. The chances are that Chinese troops could not hold Peiping under any circumstances, but this does not mean that Japan can seize and keep it as it did Manchuria, Jehol, and parts of Chahar. Peiping, much more than Nanking, symbolizes Chinese unity. It has been the capital of the country for the greater part of seven centuries. And while it is of no large value economically or strategically, its sentimental importance is such that any attempt to occupy it would force Nanking into war.

In attempting to forecast the limit of Chinese patience, considerable significance must be attached to the agreement recently reached between Nanking and the Chinese Communists. It is not likely that anything could have persuaded the Communists to suspend their ten-year war against Nanking except a definite promise of resistance to Japan. The sincerity of Nanking is attested by the fact that the Communist troops, who are only a few hundred miles southwest of Peiping, have recently been supplied with food, trucks, equipment, and money for the ostensible purpose of strengthening them for a war with Japan. The widening of representation in the coming Kuomintang Congress to include left-wing elements and Communists means that Nanking no longer intends to resist anti-Japanese feeling among the masses.

The Nanking-Communist alliance greatly increases China's defensive possibilities. Although the Communists have only about 80,000 experienced troops, they are unusually skilled in guerilla warfare such as may effectively be employed against Japan. The alliance, however, materially increases the danger that a Sino-Japanese conflict might develop into a world war. If Japan fights, we may assume that it will treat the struggle as part of a holy crusade against communism. The Soviet Union might easily, because of its geographical proximity, find itself led into the conflict even against its will. Germany's alignment would be a foregone conclusion.

In such a war—or even in a war limited to China and Japan—the American neutrality act would almost certainly prove a boomerang: We would find ourselves in the unenviable position of actively aiding the aggressors, or of committing an unneutral act by shifting our policy after the war started. As the law now stands, the President would be compelled to declare an embargo on war materials as soon as a state of war existed in the East. This means that China, which has no war industry, would be denied arms, although Japan would have no difficulty getting raw materials to supply its efficient munition plants. More serious, however, is the prospect that the President would have to insist, as was the undoubted intent of Congress, that all supplies for the belligerent countries be put on a cash-and-carry basis. This would virtually amount to an economic alliance with Japan against China. For Japan would command the seas, and it alone has the ships with which to collect the raw materials and secondary war materials which we can supply in abundance. And it so happens that Japan is one of the few countries in the world to which credit is not restricted by the Johnson Act. The Neutrality Act, as we pointed out when it was signed, indicated little understanding on the part of Congress of its probable consequences. Evidently the Administration is now seriously worried by the consequences that loom in the Far East. Repeal of the act is hardly likely, but nothing short of that will save this country from embarrassment and prevent breaches of neutrality which might ultimately precipitate us into a general conflict.

Loans for Farm Tenants

THE sound and fury over the court reform, relief, and other major bills has obscured for the time being the quiet but bitter altercation going on in Washington concerning the tenancy problem. Fundamentally, it is another evidence of Southern Democratic revolt against the New Deal. After the almost masterly report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, two different bills were brought forward in the House and Senate. The Senate bill provided for direct land purchase, whereas the House bill granted loans to tenants, without retaining title to the land for the government. Both, in effect, defeated every substantial measure recommended by the President's committee, yet both were passed.

The compromise measure, already passed by the House and still under consideration in the Senate, follows closely the original House bill. It attempts to build small landowners out of tenants, and for this purpose provides for loans, increasing in two years to $50,000,000 annually.

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These would be repayable in forty years at 3 per cent. All land so purchased is to be transferred in fee simple absolute, with the government holding first lien. The tenant may indulge in any form of speculation that he chooses, such as accepting a loan from a private bank at several times the government's rate of interest for a slightly larger principal. In such a case, the administrative agency may declare the loan to be due in full but, of course, the damage will have already been done. The President's committee had recommended strongly that the government should lease the land to the tenant for a long period (forty years was suggested), at the end of which time it was to be completely owned by the tenant.

The method of selecting those tenants who are to be beneficiaries will probably be the same as was provided in the original bill. In the first place, preference will be given to persons who "are able to make the initial down payment, or who are owners of livestock and farm implements necessary successfully to carry on farm operations." This is a little like giving relief preference to those who have enough cash on hand to repay the government for some of the money expended on them. The entire act is to be administered by county committees, consisting of three farmers in each county, who are to be appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture. They alone authorize the purchase of land and decide upon the "character, ability, and experience" of the applicant. There is no provision whatsoever for any participation on the part of the tenants themselves. In short, a smooth political bureaucracy will be established, probably made up of prominent Democratic landowners in each county, who will be able to disqualify anyone so ill-advised as to be militant in demanding tenant rights.

The most serious failure of the act, however, lies in the faulty philosophy behind it. For example, it classifies sharecroppers and those who rent for money together, although they are widely separated economic categories. The South itself has been undergoing a tremendous agrarian revolution in the last few years. The increasing use of agricultural machinery, the increase in production of cotton per acre in the older cotton-growing states, amounting to 25 per cent in the years 1934-1936 over the preceding ten years, the growth of a large class of agricultural day laborers, these indicate that the small individual holder will in the future find himself increasingly unable to compete with the great machine enterprises now rubbing shoulders with the sharecropper and all that he signifies. The only possible method of organization through which the tenant can hope to compete without bowing to a perhaps more brutal taskmaster is some form of producers' cooperative. No such set-up, however, may be created under the proposed act.

While America's world cotton markets go to pot, with foreign production increasing, with a crushing surplus of cotton impending this year or next, the mere creation of another administration and the appropriation of a few million dollars is not a solution, but a sop. American cotton culture and the body of submerged tenants who go with it demand fundamental change, not alleviation.

Nazi Exhibitionism

"THE Reich now calls into being an astounding blossoming of German art. . . . Works that are not generally intelligible will no longer reach the German nation. . . . Artistic cheats will be suppressed." With these words Adolf Hitler last week opened the House of German Art in Munich, with its exhibition of 850 *objets d'art,* all Nazi. The world could rest assured, he said, that lunacy in art had come to an end.

But the world refuses to be astonished. Herr Hitler has been announcing these death-blows to lunacy at the opening of every new exposition. This one, we suspect, is nothing new but is part of a general program which has provided a series of such shows all over Germany, each with its special objective and its own slogan. The recent Berlin exposition, for example, symbolized by the words "Give Me Four Years' Time," glorified rearmament and reemployment. In Düsseldorf the "Creative People" Exposition now displays the synthetic goods to be produced under the second Four-Year Plan, while Frankfort has been celebrating "Larger Families and Healthier Babies."

These expositions are a device of the dictatorship that has been little discussed outside of Germany. The exposition or fair has been converted from its ordinary use as a means of stimulating business into a large-scale political weapon. By all the arts of display, Herr Goebbels attempts to sell Nazi Germany to its population. He has devised three types of exposition: those in which the history of the Nazi movement is dramatized and drilled into the citizens; those in which they are urged to do their part by producing more babies, avoiding waste, or depositing money with the government; and finally those in which the leaders glorify their Kultur.

The job is well done, yet obvious dangers lurk in this graphic exposure of the new Germany. In the Berlin Ratshaus an exhibition was recently held celebrating the "Ten Years' Struggle for Berlin" of the Nazi Party. The chief attraction was a collection of knives, razors, slugs, pistols, and hand grenades—confiscated, it was said, from a Communist stronghold. The label read, "They fought with arms. We fought with ideas." But the walls were covered with pictures of Storm Troopers in the midst of riots, wounded "martyrs" on the streets and in hospital beds. The real story was not hard to read.

Even more revealing were the examples of Nazi Kultur presented recently at Dresden. There a whole armory was devoted to a demonstration of the superior virtues of the Germanic as compared with the Latin script—the preference of Martin Luther and the Emperor Otto for the Germanic being heavily stressed. This point settled, the crowning literary achievements of Aryan genius were exhibited in a display labeled "The People Live in Books." Here on plush-covered tables appeared rare editions of "Mein Kampf," the works of Rosenberg, Goebbels, and Göring, and a few Teutonic fairy tales. Such is the nature of Germany's rebirth under the aegis of Herr Hitler. Can even a Nazi miss the point?

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Will Europe Go to War?

BY LUDWIG LORE

IF we were to take a poll of public opinion on the chances for war in the near future the vote would probably be overwhelmingly negative. There have been so many "war dangers" and "war crises" in the last three years that the public has developed a sort of immunity against them. The general feeling is that Germany would be the aggressor in any war that is likely to come, and that Germany is not ready for war. But history has a way of laughing at human predictions. It has a logic of its own which scoffs at the limitations of our puny understanding.

Those who discount the possibility of war proceed from the assumption that Hitler and his associates are preparing like true systematic Germans, with every intention of striking out when and not until they are ready to meet the enemy on something like equal terms. History knows of such instances. Bismarck's war against Austria (1866) was the result of just such cold-blooded calculation. The first Balkan War, in 1912, was another instance of a carefully prepared conspiracy against the peace of Europe. But 1914 was another story. It is true that Germany cast the die that brought on the war, but not because she was ready for it or wanted it at that moment. Careful research into the records of the German Foreign Office of that period has brought to light the paradoxical fact that German diplomacy, while sincerely trying to maintain the peace, was, with inexorable fatality, driving Europe into war.

All that is history. Yet we refuse to learn from the past and persist in the fallacious conception that no war will come until the nations of Europe are ready for it. That Hitler is preparing for war cannot be doubted. That his policy is a war policy is incontestable. Indeed, National Socialism became a power in the Reich chiefly for the reason that it guaranteed a political and diplomatic offensive against the restrictions imposed on Germany by the post-war treaties. But Hitler and those behind and above him are not fools rushing blindly to certain destruction. They know Germany's military, economic, and financial weaknesses and recognize them for the handicaps they are. But such handicaps can be overcome.

At present the Nazi government rests almost wholly on bluff and a talent for extortion. To these qualities it owes its popularity at home, a popularity which depends almost wholly, however, on its ability to continue in that dangerous course. A serious diplomatic defeat might destroy the confidence of the masses in the Hitler regime and even alienate the support of the large capitalist interests on whose continued approval its preparations for war so largely depend. German industry cannot live forever on hopes. The glory of a Germany remilitarized is a poor substitute for markets and foreign exchange. It is possible, therefore, that a crisis such as might arise out of the liquidation of the Spanish Civil War might drive the Hitler government head over heels into another world catastrophe. In other words, one cannot judge the chances of war on the basis of logic and reason. Nevertheless, it is profitable to investigate those conditions which, other things remaining equal, would encourage or deter the German government from inviting war.

THE PROBLEM OF FOOD

Could Germany feed its population in case of war? The terrible sufferings of the German people during the blockade of 1914-1918 taught the Nazi government the importance of being prepared. The fantastic self-sufficiency policy, which has been so roundly condemned by economists as blocking the course of German economic recovery, is of course not a recovery measure at all but an important part of Nazi Germany's war-preparedness program. Thus far, however, German self-sufficiency has been more spectacular than real.

German economists point out that the standard of living of the German people could be reduced by one-fifth without lasting harm to the physical condition of the population. In theory that may be true. Laboratory experiments may show that such a reduction is possible. Put into practice in the homes of millions of German workers, it would soon result in a retrogression in public health. There is no doubt that it would be put into practice, since war-time production in the Reich would fall decidedly below the best efforts of scientific management in peace time. War is destructive even in those sectors where bullets and shrapnel do not fall. War draws to the front a large percentage of those who work in the fields; technical replacements stop; factories manufacture explosives instead of fertilizers. We have no detailed figures regarding German farm production during the World War. We do know that the supply of pork fell from 25,300,000 head in December, 1914, to 16,600,000 in August, 1918; that the number of milk cows was reduced by 2,000,000 (20 per cent) during the four war years, and that the average yield per cow dropped so sharply that the total output of milk declined from 24,000,000 liters in 1913 to 11,300,000 liters in 1918.

Figures for grain production for the World War period were never published, but a study of war-time food distribution is enlightening. In the summer of 1918 the basic daily ration per person in Berlin was 280 grams of "bread," baked of a mixture of grain and turnips, and 500 grams of potatoes; the monthly ration of butter was 70 grams. During the war years 900,000 more persons, non-combatants, died in Germany than in the same period before the war from causes growing out of malnutrition.

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Food conditions in the Reich today are not so bad as they were then, but they are bad enough. During the last eighteen months Germany has gone through a whole series of acute shortages, and the end is not in sight. There are no food cards—as yet—but various food categories, particularly fats, are apportioned by means of a system under which each customer gets a ration card from his dealer. There is an allowance of half a pound of fat per person per week, with butter fats at a premium. In a recent address Walter Darré, Reich Supervisor of Agriculture, declared that Germans eat a disproportionate amount of fat and demanded that the present daily average of 90 grams per person be reduced to 65 grams.

The acute meat shortage of the past winter was somewhat alleviated by a bumper crop of pigs, but prices are still inordinately high. Regulations for meat products do not affect the prices of "luxury cuts," which are hoisted by desperate retailers to fantastic heights to offset the practical elimination of profits on the cheaper parts. Because of the difficulty of getting feed, over a million more hogs were slaughtered in the final quarter of 1936 than in the corresponding quarter of 1935, but most of this increased supply was withdrawn by the government for storage. Bacon is almost unobtainable.

Last winter the Nazi government issued a series of regulations on the collection of foodstuffs produced in the Reich. A *Reichsnährstand* (Reich Food Estate) was appointed with power to organize production, fix prices, supervise the work of the peasants, and compel them to deliver certain quantities in fixed periods at fixed prices. Concurrently there has grown up a flourishing bootleg trade in farm products, such as cream, eggs, and butter. Whipping cream, for instance, is obtainable only in homeopathic doses in the better hotels and restaurants. Eggs, due to the lack of feed, are so scarce that the housewife rarely gets more than one or two at a time from her grocer's carefully hidden supply. Coffee is a luxury. Beet sugar is plentiful but sells at 30 per cent above the world price. New experiments for procuring sugar from wood have been successful but as yet the process is too costly to be practical. In general, the manufacture of synthetic foods and textiles is still too expensive to result in genuine self-sufficiency.

While there is no acute shortage of bread grains, the whole problem of grain production has become extraordinarily vexing. During the first two years the Hitler regime had the good fortune to harvest bumper crops, so that it was able to feed up to 75 per cent of the population out of its own resources. The drought of 1934 brought the first setback. Whereas the Reich produced 5,200,000 tons of wheat in 1932 and 5,800,000 in 1933, it raised only 4,000,000 in 1936, thus falling a million tons short of requirements. The situation in feed grain was even worse. Germany has had to import between 55 and 65 million dollars' worth of grain, and will probably use another 20 million dollars' worth before the next harvest. The shortage was covered in part under clearing agreements with Canada, Argentina, and the Danubian countries, but a considerable amount had to be bought outright. For the necessary exchange German citizens were forced to sell their foreign securities, cutting down a permanent source of foreign exchange from interest, dividends, and amortization payments.

Prospects for the coming harvest are anything but favorable due to heavy rains which delayed sowing. The farmer, who was one of the chief beneficiaries of the Hitler regime in its early stages, is becoming restive. He points out that the government's refusal to buy feed for German cattle in 1934 and 1935 led farmers to slaughter their livestock, causing the present shortage of milk and fats. He resents the order requiring a permit for every pig slaughtered for private use, and forcing delivery of all others to government agencies at a fixed price. Bootlegging of farm products has become so general that the Gestapo is enforcing compulsory delivery of milk and other farm products. Withholding produce has been made high treason punishable with prison and, if the courts so decide, with decapitation.

A contributory factor is the reduction of Germany's agricultural area for military purposes. In 1935 alone about 1,169,500 acres were withdrawn from agricultural utilization "for the new upbuilding of Germany"; in 1936, 200,000 acres. Meanwhile the demand for labor power in the arms and ammunition industries has produced an acute shortage of farm workers in East Prussia, the grain area of the country.

What does all this mean for the German people? Children are collecting bones, tin-foil, paper, etc., under the direction of the school authorities. Their mothers stand in line for hours to get a coveted piece of meat or a pound of fat or butter. The housewife no longer chooses what she wants to buy. She must be satisfied, in respect to quantity as well as quality, with what the storekeeper has to offer. The condition of Germany today is incomparably worse than before the World War. The Germany of 1914, in fact, had such vast reserves of every description that no one even thought of making special provisions for a coming war. The line-up of Germany's presumptive foes in a coming war makes it certain, moreover, that she would be cut off from foreign markets by a much more effective blockade than encompassed her defeat in 1914-1918. Germany's financial condition then was excellent; today it could hardly be worse.

The Hitler government would not repeat the mistakes of Imperial Germany. It would be less wasteful; its resources would be more carefully conserved and more adequately organized. Everything would be rationed from the first day of war. But starvation, too, would begin at once, and Germany's war lords would have to deal from the very start with a dangerous psychological element—the masses of the people.

IRON AND OIL

As the World War progressed it became increasingly plain that the side best supplied with the materials of mechanical warfare would be the ultimate victor. By the end of the war "motorization" had become the aim and end of all military wisdom. The outstanding drawback of motorized warfare is its enormous consumption of explosives, metals, and fuel oils of every description.

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Germany's chemical industries can produce almost inexhaustible supplies of the first, provided factories can be kept intact. The Reich has also accumulated tremendous stores of copper, aluminum, manganese, zinc, lead, etc. How long they would last in case of war is another question. Undoubtedly Germany would continue to depend on the world market for its iron ore. In 1936, after every available source of supply was put in operation, Germany's iron mines produced 6,652,000 tons (1,340,000 tons in 1932) and 18,469,000 tons were imported. Translating these figures into pig iron makes the ratio even more unfavorable, since the yield of German ore is relatively much lower than that of imported ore.

At present Germany gets most of her iron from Sweden and France. Should her dreams come true, and Spanish intervention give the Nazi government a monopoly of Spanish iron production, it would relieve her economy of a tremendous burden—in times of peace. But what chance would there be of getting Spanish ore into Germany after the outbreak of war? Sweden would be the only certain source. Seventy-five per cent of Sweden's iron output now goes to Germany, but her agreements with Berlin expire at the end of the year, and Great Britain, whose financial position is strong, is planning to move into the Swedish iron market. Moreover, in war time the opposition of Norway's Socialist government could become a serious obstacle to Swedish-German trade. Transportation through the North Sea would certainly be blocked by England and perhaps by the Soviet.

The Third Reich has made a stupendous effort to free itself from dependence on the international market for fuel oils. Output was increased from 174,300 tons in 1930 to 437,400 tons in 1935. But in 1918 the Allies on the French front alone used 500,000 tons a month. Only the United States and the Soviet Union have a surplus supply of fuel, which would not be available to Germany in case of war. And the chances of getting oil from other oil-producing states would be just as unfavorable.

The question of oil for war is one of many which draw a sharp line of demarcation between Germany's military experts and the military dilettantism of Hitler and his associates. In the *Deutsche Wehr,* generally looked upon as the official organ of the military authorities in the Reich, H. Steinberg, a prominent mining engineer, has estimated that a great power would use at least 12,650,000 tons of oil in one year of war, 5,500,000 tons for the land army and 1,700,000 for the aerial force, 2,000,000 for the navy, and 3,450,000 for domestic purposes. This estimate is too low rather than too high, since it roughly approximates World War figures. Much more will be required in a new and modern war.

How are such quantities of the precious fluid to be procured? To buy in advance is out of the question. An English expert estimated not long ago that Great Britain would have to invest £30,000,000 for oil and for storage facilities for half a year's supply. In 1935 Germany produced 1,380,000 tons of *Ersatz* motor oil, or about 12 per cent of the amount she would need. The problem is not only technical. The production of an adequate supply of *Ersatz* oil would necessitate an increased production of hard coal of 800,000,000 tons, or 60 per cent more than the present total. Furthermore, assuming that the requisite number of mines were available, an army of 300,000 additional workers would be required to mine the coal and manufacture the oil. In war this would mean withholding twelve army divisions from duty at the front.

Other European powers are equally dependent on the world market but, having unimpeded access to the sea, they will always be able to supplement their deficiencies. For Germany the chances are practically nil.

This is the first of two articles on the chances of war in Europe. The second will appear next week.

Robert Vansittart, Europe's Arbiter

BY ROBERT DELL

Geneva, July 6

IF I were asked who were the two ablest diplomatists in Europe, I should reply without hesitation Titulescu, who was until recently Rumanian Foreign Minister, and Sir Robert Vansittart, permanent head of the British Foreign Office—his official title is permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Vansittart has much more scope than Titulescu has ever had for the exercise of his abilities, and is undoubtedly at this moment the chief arbiter of the fate of Europe. Except when the foreign minister is a man with great force of character and a policy of his own, whether good or bad, such as Salisbury or Curzon in England, Delcassé or Poincaré in France, foreign policy in both countries is in fact conducted by permanent officials. Ever since Vansittart became permanent head of the British Foreign Office he has made British foreign policy, whether the marionette of the moment was called Simon, Hoare, or Eden. Now and then, no doubt, one marionette or another has tried a little dance of his own, but the strings have remained in the hands of Sir Robert Vansittart, and the deviation has not lasted long. At the present moment Anthony Eden appears not quite to see eye to eye with Sir Robert Vansittart, but in fact Vansittart is using Eden with remarkable dexterity. Eden is allowed to say things that he himself perhaps believes, or at least half believes, so as to deceive people about the real nature and aims of British policy.

In France, too, foreign policy is made by permanent officials, by M. Léger, permanent head of the Quai d'Orsay, and M. Massigli. The latter does not conceal in private his desire for the victory of Franco and his

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belief in the necessity of an understanding with Mussolini at all costs—in short, he adheres to the policy of Laval. Léger believes in blindly following the policy of England, and acts on his belief, so in fact the policy that he makes is also the policy of Sir Robert Vansittart, who is for all practical purposes foreign minister of France as well as of England.

France is as necessary to England as England is to France, for France is a buffer state between England and Germany, and Germany will never attack England without first attacking France. When Baldwin said: "Our frontier is on the Rhine," he enunciated a truism. Whether or not there is an alliance or an entente cordiale between England and France, the British government, whatever its complexion, will always go to the aid of France if that country is attacked by Germany, because England will never tolerate the Germans at Calais, or, for that matter, at Antwerp or Amsterdam. England went to war in 1914, not to save France or Belgium but to prevent the Germans from holding Calais or Antwerp, and incidentally to destroy the German fleet. England will always go to war with Germany for the same reasons in the same circumstances. This being so, the French government of the People's Front, in sacrificing everything else to secure British support in the event of a German attack on France, has been paying for what it could get for nothing. Could any policy be more inept? And what a price the French government has paid! The Franco-Belgian alliance is gone, the Franco-Polish alliance no longer exists in anything but name, the Franco-Soviet pact has been emptied of all its value, the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente are dislocated. France has been separated from all her eastern friends and isolated in Western Europe.

These conditions are the consequences of the policy of Sir Robert Vansittart, in which France has acquiesced, and he is far too intelligent not to have foreseen them. This does not mean that he is hostile to France or desires to do harm to France. On the contrary, it is probable, indeed almost certain, that he regrets what he believes to be the necessity of leaving Hitler a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. The traditional aim of British policy has been to hold the balance in such a way as to prevent any other power from becoming dominant on the Continent and, when there has appeared to be a danger of that happening, to intervene on behalf of the weaker side. This traditional policy of the balance of power has now been abandoned. It is true that there has always been in British diplomacy a school in favor of an alliance with the strongest power on the Continent, but that school has nearly always been in the minority and has rarely succeeded in applying its policy. The only important departure from the policy of the balance of power, which involves freedom for England from any definite and permanent commitment on the Continent, was made by Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain more than forty years ago, when they offered an alliance to Germany.

It is perhaps too soon to say that an alliance with Germany has once again become a definite aim of British policy, but it cannot be doubted that it is the policy of Sir Robert Vansittart and of Neville Chamberlain, the new British Prime Minister, whose dream is to revive his father's policy and to succeed where his father failed. Pro-German feeling is strong in the House of Lords, in the City of London, and in the English ruling classes generally, and, strangely enough, the friends of Hitler include some politicians on the left, such as Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Lord Ponsonby, Lord Noel-Buxton, and George Lansbury, whose motives, however, are not the same as those of the Tory pro-Nazis. They are for peace at any price and fondly believe that peace will be secured by making concessions to Hitler.

An alliance or even a close understanding with Nazi Germany would not, however, go through without strong opposition. In the British Cabinet itself there is a minority opposed to, or at least uneasy about, present British policy. It includes Eden, who is probably sincerely favorable to the system of the League of Nations and what is called collective security. Unfortunately his past conduct suggests that he has neither the character nor the courage to make a stand. In the City of London there is an influential group, which is said to be growing in numbers, strongly opposed to any financial or other concessions to Germany. It is represented by an ably edited periodical called the *Banker*. This group is in strong opposition to the Bank of England and its governor, Montagu Norman, who is intensely pro-Nazi and works in close cooperation with Dr. Schacht. In politics there are Conservatives like Winston Churchill and the Duchess of Atholl and independents like Eleanor Rathbone opposed to the foreign policy of the government and in favor of a system of collective security for Europe with the participation of England; but one can never be sure how long Winston Churchill will remain of the same mind.

The danger is that, since few people in England seem to realize what British policy really is, the country may some day be presented with a *fait accompli* and rushed into accepting it. There is no effective political opposition. The Labor and Liberal parties have no leadership and seem incapable of any energetic action. The Labor Party is actually losing ground in by-elections because it has no alternative policy to offer the electors, thousands of whom do not trouble to vote at all.

The new British policy is based on the following argument. England must never go to war unless the interests of the British Empire are involved—that is to say, the only war permissible is the kind of war forbidden by the Kellogg Pact. British interests would not be involved in the event of a war between Germany and any country east of the Rhine. It follows that Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations must be got rid of and that England must join in no pact of mutual assistance. The League of Nations must be "reformed" in such a way as to make it a mere debating society. If, however, Germany attacked France or Belgium or Holland, British interests would be involved, and England would have to go to war with Germany. This being so, France must be compelled to abandon all its commitments east of the Rhine. For if Germany attacked Czecho-Slovakia, fo-

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stance, and France went to the aid of Czecho-Slovakia, England would almost certainly be involved in the war between France and Germany, and that must never happen in such circumstances.

It will be seen that the policy is quite logical. Whether it is not a shortsighted policy is another question. When Hitler had become the master of the greater part of the European Continent, he might follow the example of Napoleon and turn his attention to England. Hitler himself has said in "Mein Kampf" that for the moment Germany must not try to be a world power, because an alliance with England is necessary, but he has also said that ultimately "Germany will be a world power or nothing at all." The aim of Vansittart's policy is to force Germany to be and remain a European Continental power and not to become a world power. The calculation is that by the time Hitler has made himself master of the Continent east of the Rhine, England will be so strongly armed that it will be hopeless for Germany to attack it, and England will be in a position to make an alliance with Germany on its own terms. This is the real reason for England's rearmament. France would then be forced to come into the Anglo-German combination and would sink to the position of a second-class power under Anglo-German control. In my opinion this policy, which is not unlike a division of the world into British and German spheres of influence, is a serious menace to the United States of America.

Even if I had no solid grounds for my conviction that this description of Vansittart's policy is accurate, I should say that it is the only hypothesis that will explain British policy during the last four years. It explains British acquiescence in German rearmament and the refusal of the British government in 1933 to join in any steps to stop it. It explains the Anglo-German naval agreement, which gave Germany the command of the North Sea but not a navy large enough to embark on a world policy and enter into competition with England. It explains why the British government persuaded the French government to capitulate to Hitler in March, 1936, when he sent the Germany army into the demilitarized zone. There is ground for suspicion that the British government knew of Hitler's intention in advance and did not inform the French government. The military occupation of the demilitarized zone furthered the British policy of cutting France off from Central and Eastern Europe because the fortification by Germany of the frontier has made it much more difficult for France to go to the aid of Czecho-Slovakia or any other country east of the Rhine.

My description of Vansittart's policy explains the action of the British government in the Abyssinian affair. The British government agreed to sanctions only to win an electoral victory, with the firm intention of making them ineffective so as to have an excuse for never applying them again and of dropping them as soon as the electoral victory was won. This policy was initiated by Vansittart, and the general lines of his plan, which was made public about three weeks after the English ·ral election, were communicated by Baldwin to Count de Chambrun, then French Ambassador to Rome, at Aix-les-Bains in September, 1935, during the Assembly of the League of Nations at which Sir Samuel Hoare made his famous speech. Vansittart's policy, as I have described it, explains British hostility to the Franco-Soviet pact and British action in regard to Spain. It explains why the British Foreign Office encouraged Poland to come to terms with Germany in 1933, encouraged Belgium to break the alliance with France and to return to "neutrality," encouraged the Henlein party in Czecho-Slovakia, encouraged Yugoslavia through the British Minister to Belgrade to come to terms with Italy and Germany, and in short did everything in its power to break up the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente. At the Dardanelles conference at Montreux last year Titulescu told the British delegates to their faces that they were trying to break up the Balkan Entente, and he was right. It was evident to everybody at that conference that the British delegation was working for Germany.

I have left to the last what I am convinced has been one of the most important factors in Vansittart's policy, which is also the policy of the majority of the British government, namely, hostility to Soviet Russia and fear of communism. This above all has rallied so large a proportion of the English ruling classes to the idea of an understanding or alliance with Nazi Germany. In spite of all their declarations against the division of Europe into "ideological blocs," they know quite well that the fascist bloc has already been formed, and in their hearts they prefer fascism to communism—a term by which they denote any attempt of organized labor to seize power. They prefer Franco to the Spanish government, although they know that there is no chance in Spain of a Communist regime in the true sense of the term.

The question now is whether liberal and labor forces in England will awaken to the realities of the situation in time to prevent their country from joining the fascist bloc. The symptoms are not encouraging.

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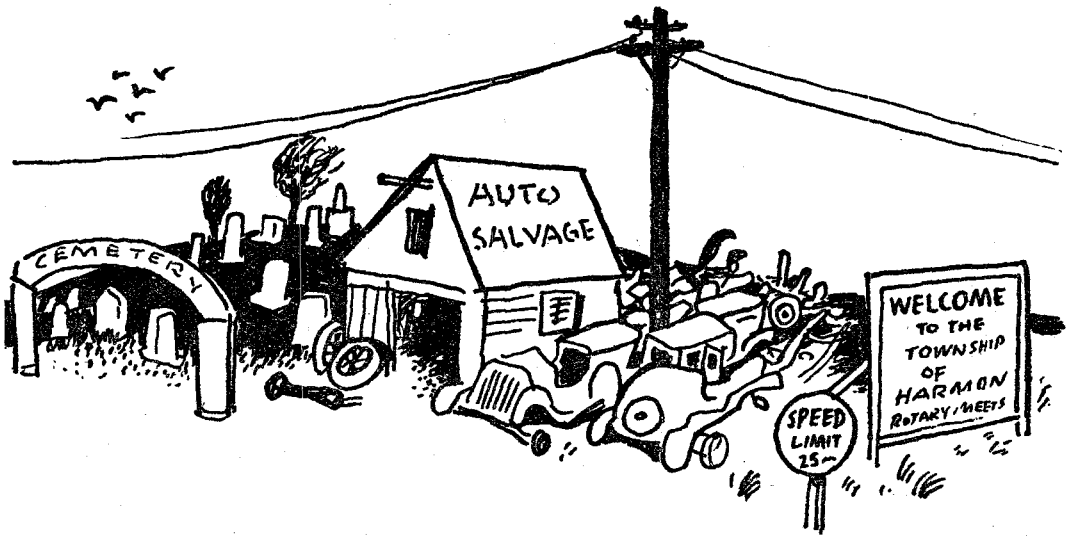
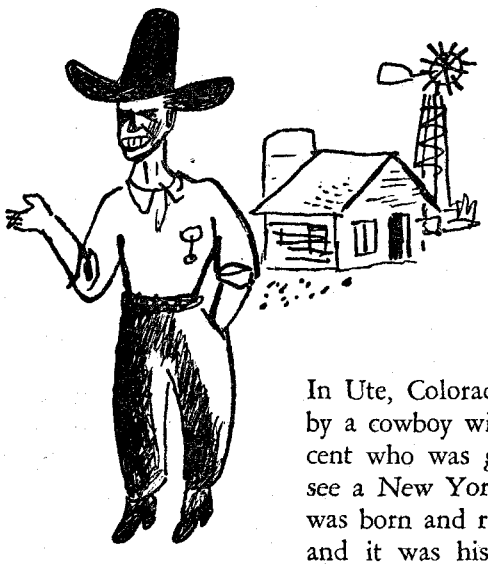
Out West

BY WILLIAM GROPPER

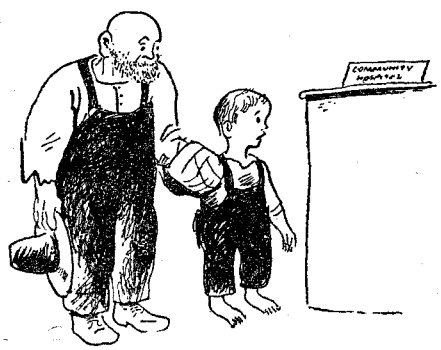


At the entrance of almost every town the tourist is greeted with a welcome sign, the name of the town, the population, when the Rotarians meet, and the speed limit. Right next to it is a junkyard and a cemetery; then you go along Main Street. All Main Streets look alike, with cars parked in front of general stores and the Post Office.

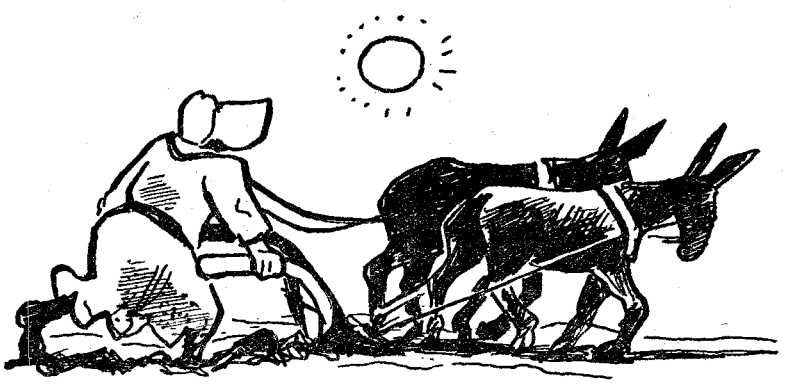


In Ute, Colorado, I was greeted by a cowboy with a southern accent who was gosh-dern glad to see a New York car, because he was born and raised in Brooklyn and it was his home town for thirty years. I asked him how long he had lived in Colorado, and he said three months.

In the State of Kansas men sit on the curb for hours and just look.



In Elk City, Oklahoma, while I was waiting to meet Dr. Shadid, of the Community Hospital, a youngster led in his granddad, who had hurt his hand playing with firecrackers. I also heard a farmer say that if Dr. Shadid ran for Congress he would get all the farmer votes in the vicinity.



Out on the farms, I've seen women do the plowing.

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Maine Is Not in the Union

BY AARON LEVENSTEIN

IT'S really true: Maine is not a part of the United States. And what is worse, the people of Maine know it and don't care. Maine's secession from the Union was emphasized in the recent shoe strike conducted by the Committee for Industrial Organization in Lewiston and Auburn. Six strike leaders, together with their attorney, were jailed because they thought they had the protection of the Wagner Act.

Soon after their strike began, the local press informed them that they were strangers in a strange land. The Lewiston *Sun* opened a barrage calling on the manufacturers to have nothing to do with the C. I. O. "The manufacturers should not dare to accept and surrender to the 5-4 Wagner law decision," it thundered. "Our local manufacturers should insist that whatever the Wagner Act means, it does not apply to our Auburn and Lewiston manufacturers." And again: "The shoe manufacturers should refuse to have any conferences with any federal official or with any other outsider." In connection with the Wagner Act, Roosevelt was referred to as "your No. 1 lawbreaker of America . . . your queer-minded President."

These two small Maine towns, separated by the Androscoggin River, which cascades picturesquely between them, have a total population of 50,000. Some 6,500 of them are shoe workers, predominantly French-Canadian. Conditions were rotten-ripe for unionism, with wages averaging $14 a week at most and frequently falling as low as $7 and $8. I talked to two little boys who alternated between French and English in telling how they received 25 cents a week for working long hours after school sweeping up the floors in the Lounge Shoe plant. Organization was inevitable. Led by Powers Hapgood, New England secretary of the C. I. O., the United Shoe Workers of America called for conferences with the manufacturers last March but received no reply. The strike followed, with an overwhelming majority walking out. Action came fast and furious from the companies. In spite of the state's liberal labor-injunction statute, Judge Harry Manser of the Supreme Judicial Court refused to listen to witnesses called by the union, and in the midst of the hearing signed a decree declaring the strike "illegal" because it was directed toward a closed shop.

Meanwhile the chief of police in Auburn forbade picket lines within a radius of 500 feet of any factory. A local attorney, Benjamin J. Arena, who advised the strikers that the chief had no authority to make such a ruling, was thereupon indicted with many others on charges of conspiracy, a felony in Maine. After a two-weeks trial, Arena was acquitted by a jury, but nine of his codefendants were convicted and sentenced to five months' imprisonment and fines of $100 each. During the examination of talesmen, the effect of the newspaper propaganda on the public mind became evident. Three panels were exhausted as prospective jurors passed through the following questioning:

Question: Will the fact that some of the defendants come from outside the state of Maine affect your verdict? Answer: Yes.

Q.: Will the fact that the defendants are connected with the C. I. O. affect your verdict. A.: Yes.

Q.: Do you know what C. I. O. means? A.: No.

At the same time, the authorities proceeded with the enforcement of the injunction. They threatened to close down the food commissary of the strikers, but backed water when faced with determined refusal. Powers Hapgood and five other strike leaders, together with Sidney Grant, a Massachusetts labor lawyer, were charged with contempt of court and haled before Judge Manser. Attorney Grant's contemptuous conduct was an address delivered to a strike meeting. "He stated," testified a witness, the son of a shoe-company executive, called by the manufacturers, "that he was counsel for the organization and that in the event the advice which he gave the shoe workers—in the event that they were arrested—they had a perfect right to use the telephone, to plead not guilty, and if they were subjected to any third degree that they were to notify or let their counsel know immediately, that they might serve action for assault and battery against those who would be responsible for such action of the third degree upon them. He also stated that no judge or any court of law can proclaim a strike illegal. That is all I recall of what he said." Grant was jailed for advising his clients of their legal rights.

Governor Lewis Barrows contributed to the drive against the union by sending in the militia. While the newspapers were telling the manufacturers to disregard the Wagner Act as hostile to their interests, Barrows issued a proclamation in which he declared, echoing Judge Manser, "The present strike is illegal under the terms of the Wagner Act"—despite the explicit provision of the law that "nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike."

The conduct of the contempt proceedings before a jury, as required by the Maine statute, was a further illustration of judicial contempt for law. Judge Manser proceeded on the theory that the defendants were being tried for a civil contempt, subject to fine or assessment of damages, and so charged the jury: "If you reach a verdict of guilty, you are not branding a person as a criminal; in other words, this is not a criminal case." But on receiving the verdict of guilty, the learned court imposed jail sentences as in a criminal case.

Manser packed the defendants off immediately to the

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Androscoggin County Jail and refused to fix bail. He even kept Ernest Henry, 63-year-old union organizer, under guard in a hospital to which he had to be removed because of tuberculosis, and refused to release any of the men unless they apologized to the court and promised to leave the state. Of course, they all refused. It was only after Arthur Garfield Hays, acting in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers' Defense League, together with C. I. O. attorneys, obtained a writ of habeas corpus from another judge that the right of bail was allowed the union leaders and they were finally released.

The workers have since voted to return to the factories, in view of the decision of the National Labor Relations Board ordering elections under the Wagner Act. In five plants consent elections have already been held, all of which have been won by the C. I. O., and some manufacturers have signed agreements. It is still not known whether the shoe manufacturers in the others will accede to the order of the board or will listen to the Lewiston *Sun,* which says: "You manufacturers must not, after so fine a fight, surrender and submit to anything Dr. Myers (Regional Labor Director) or any of that new-fangled Administration is going to put over on you."

Freedom of the Press Again

BY RUTH BRINDZE

THE newspaper publishers of America have discovered a new threat to freedom of the press. It has nothing to do with the publishing business, with unionization, or with the Newspaper Guild. Radio is the cause of the present agitation. The publishers have discovered a "conspiracy" to prevent them from gaining control of the air.

Until recently the official attitude of the publishers emphasized the essential differences between the radio and the press. As late as the 1936 session of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Edward H. Harris, chairman of the association's radio committee, had proclaimed with indignation and alarm:

> Journalism could not exist if it were subject to a government license. Radio broadcasting, facsimile printing, and television by their very nature must always be under government license. Attempts of radio to function in the field of journalism must fail, because a government license destroys the freedom on which any journalistic endeavor rests.

These sentences ring with conviction. Yet it now appears that radio stations licensed by the government can function freely in the field of journalism *if* the stations are operated by publishers. In fact, say the leaders of the fourth estate, the only way the free press can be saved is to permit and encourage the publishers to go into the radio business. Their reasoning runs along these lines: the press is a free, unlicensed agency; the radio is licensed; joint ownership makes it possible to operate one as a check and balance to the other.

Back in 1933, when the publishers decreed that news broadcasts must not be sponsored by advertisers and established the Press-Radio Bureau to supply news to radio stations ("See your newspaper for further details"), they also posed as champions of freedom of the press. Permitting an advertiser direct control over the news was a direct affront to a free press, they said, and with this point of view there can be little disagreement. However, the rules and regulations formulated by the publishers, their worry over "spot-news" broadcasting, and the leeway permitted the radio commentators to color the news indicated an obvious attempt to control a competitor which was threatening not only the publishers' advertising income but their circulation as well. If the public could get the news on the radio, it would not buy a newspaper; therefore news broadcasting must be controlled.

The Press-Radio Bureau is still in existence and the few stations actually owned by the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System still adhere to the provisions of the contract signed with the publishers at the famous "Biltmore Conference" to broadcast no spot news except that supplied by the bureau. But the affiliated stations of the networks are not bound by the agreement, and the number of news broadcasts sponsored by brewers, silk-stocking manufacturers, gasoline refiners, and others has steadily increased. The bureau scheme is an admitted failure. Since 1935 the Associated Press, the United Press, Mr. Hearst's two newsgathering organizations, the International News Service and the Universal Service, have been selling their news to radio stations, which in turn sell the news programs to advertising sponsors. Last year it was estimated that the news agencies collected $3,000,000 from the radio industry, while from the sale of news programs the stations derived an income in excess of $15,000,000.

Some of the publishers are still bitter about the defection of the press associations, but the more practical and realistic among them realized several years ago that the only way to compete with radio was to go into the broadcasting business themselves. In December, 1933, when the Press-Radio Bureau was established, only 98 stations were owned by publishers; in February, 1937, they controlled 200 stations, and had filed with the Federal Communications Commission 103 applications for new stations and eight other applications for the transfer of stations to newspaper control. Information on ownership required by the commission does not extend to the ultimate control, and there is no way of learning how many of the other 685 stations in operation in February of this year were dominated or owned by newspapers. According

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to a conservative estimate, the publishers now own or control more than one-fourth of all radio stations. They intend to increase their holdings. At the 1937 convention of the A. N. P. A. there was a meeting of all publishers who owned stations, had applications pending, or intended to apply for permission to operate a station to discuss ways and means of spiking the enemies in Washington. It was decided that no open lobbying was to be carried on; but pressure was to be exerted in other ways.

The campaign is, of course, to be based on the free-press issue, and the publishers have discovered an effective ogre to parade before the public—namely, a bill introduced during the present session by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, providing for a $750,000 appropriation for the establishment of a government-owned broadcasting station. Such a station, Mr. Harris warned his fellow members of the A. N. P. A., "will be capable of broadcasting a governmental news service not only to all foreign countries but also to all parts of our own country."

Irvin Stewart of the Federal Communications Commission took a different view in his dissenting opinion on the granting of a license to the El Paso *Times*. The application had been opposed by Station KTSM of El Paso, on the ground that "public convenience, interest, or necessity" would not be served, since the city could not support two stations, and that to license the newspaper station would force the independent one out of business. The threat to free speech and a free press of such unified control of the instruments which mold public opinion was clearly enunciated by Commissioner Stewart in one of the last opinions rendered before his resignation on June 30.

> Broadcasting has given the listener the means of checking on the newspaper. More important, it has given him a means to supplement the information he gets from the paper, to get matter denied him in the process of editorial selection or because of the limited resources of the publisher. . . . Obviously the newspaper and the broadcast station cannot be checked against each other when both are under the same control. To some this solicitude for channels of information independent of each other may seem a counsel of confusion; to me is a principal hope of democracy.

There are now 113 cities in which all local broadcast stations are under newspaper control. To what extent this number will be increased during the next year remains to be seen. The publishers pooh-pooh the argument that any danger exists in the unification of control of radio and the press, but one of the incidents reported in the American Civil Liberties Union study of radio censorship indicates the possibilities. In July, 1934, State Senator Paul Stewart (no relation to the commissioner) was campaigning for election to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, and for one of his stump speeches he bought time from WKY, a station owned by a subsidiary of the Oklahoma Publishing Company. When the speech was submitted to the station censors, in accordance with the usual requirements, they discovered that one paragraph was devoted to a criticism of the corporation owning both the station and the local newspapers. Senator Stewart was asked to delete the paragraph. When he refused he was informed that he would not be permitted to broadcast, and his money was refunded.

The powerful publishing chains now have a firm foothold in the radio industry. Hearst Radio, Inc., holds ten stations in its own name: WINS, New York; WCAE, Pittsburgh; WBAL, Baltimore; WISN, Milwaukee; KYA, San Francisco; KEHE, Los Angeles; WACO, Waco; KOMA, Oklahoma City; KNOW, Austin, and KTSA, San Antonio. Another Texas station, KFJZ, was bought in June of this year by Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt, whose husband is vice-president of Hearst's radio company. Hearst is said to be playing the angel to other stations, including WSAY of Rochester and WMEX of Boston. Recently he has been angling for WGST of Atlanta, for which Sam Pickard former radio commissioner and executive of the Columbia Broadcasting System, now holds the license. It is Hearst's reported ambition to own a radio station in every city in which he publishes a newspaper. He is also widening his sphere of influence by the sale of Hearst news to radio stations. There were, in 1936, 185 stations broadcasting Hearst news.

Scripps-Howard has not fared so well with the commission. Shortly before the 1936 election, Scripps-Howard's broadcasting subsidiary, Continental Radio, Inc., filed two applications which were denied on the ground that the company's financial condition did not warrant the granting of the licenses. Continental was then operating two stations, WNOX of Knoxville and WCPO of Cincinnati. A few months after the denial of its applications, Scripps-Howard bought the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* and with it acquired stations WMC and WNBR, two of the three biggest stations in Memphis. These purchases were approved by the commission. There has recently been a reorganization of Continental Radio Company. Its name was changed to Scripps-Howard Radio, Inc. Jack Howard was elected president and M. H. Aylesworth, formerly president of the National Broadcasting Company and before that managing director of the national Electric Light Association, became a member of the board of directors. In addition to the four stations for which it holds licenses Scripps-Howard is affiliated with at least one other, KOB, of Albuquerque, licensed to the business manager of Scripps's Rocky Mountain division.

The Gannett newspaper chain owns seven stations, six in New York and one in Connecticut, and had four applications for new stations filed with the commission; in Pennsylvania the Steinman brothers have four stations and two more in Delaware; the Capper publications have two stations, and the McClatchy interests five.

There is no indication that immediate legislative action will be taken to prevent the acquisition of radio by the publishers. The Wearin bill, introduced early in the present Congressional session, which would prohibit joint ownership of newspapers and radio stations, is still in committee, and the radio inquiry suggested by Senator Wallace White, Jr., coauthor of the Radio Act of 1927, will apparently not even be started. But the publishers' campaign is under way. Free speech is the theme.

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Behind China's Conflict

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

At eleven o'clock on the evening of July 7 Japanese troops conducting night maneuvers in the countryside southwest of Peiping suddenly became engaged in a sharp armed conflict with the Chinese soldiers who were intrusted with the defense of that area. The immediate cause of the clash is shrouded in mystery. The Japanese assert that their troops were engaged in regular maneuvers when they were attacked by a band of Chinese soldiers. As proof of the claim that they had no aggressive intention they have stated that each soldier had only one ball cartridge, the remainder being blanks. The Chinese, on the other hand, insist that the Japanese did the attacking, and point out that the battle started deep in Chinese territory.

If this sudden outbreak of hostilities had occurred any time between May, 1933—when the Japanese first marched to the gates of Peiping—and the beginning of the present year, it would have occasioned no surprise. But for the past six months the relations between China and Japan have been unusually placid. Following the defeat of the Japanese-supported Mongolian-Manchurian troops in Suiyuan last winter and the change in Nanking's policy after the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, Japan appeared to have abandoned its territorial and political aims in favor of a more subtle program of economic penetration. On China's side, there seemed to be a letdown in anti-Japanese agitation, accompanied, paradoxically enough, by a stiffening of Chinese resistance to all threats of Japanese aggression.

But beneath this seemingly placid surface lay the fundamental instability created by Japan's five years of unceasing aggression. Japan had repeatedly failed in its efforts to create a five-province puppet state in North China similar to Manchoukuo. It had succeeded, however, in dividing this region into three zones which it dominated in varying degrees. Jehol and parts of Chahar are controlled directly by the Japanese administration of Manchoukuo. The so-called "demilitarized zone," with its capital at Tungchow, twelve miles east of Peiping, is almost as directly under Japanese domination, though nominally ruled by Yin Ju-keng, a renegade Chinese who has openly embraced Japanese "culture." The remainder of Hopei, the province in which Peiping and Tientsin are located, together with parts of Chahar, is controlled by the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, headed by General Sung Cheh-yuan. Although this council is composed in large part of old-line Chinese officials who are favorable to Japan, it has never formally severed its connections with Nanking. Some of the leaders of the council, including Sung Cheh-yuan himself, are at heart anti-Japanese but were too good politicians to oppose Japan as long as its power was predominant. The upsurge of Chinese nationalism in recent months has been reflected in a reassertion of Nanking's influence on the council. A Japanese protest against this development was filed, significantly enough, just a day or two before the outbreak of hostilities.

Equally disquieting to the Japanese has been the prospect of an alliance between Nanking and the Chinese Communists. Recent reports from China indicate that such an alliance would have been concluded by the end of this month. The Communists have called off their war against the Kuomintang; the soviet system is being abandoned in favor of a democratic system; and the Red Army has nominally recognized the authority of Nanking. The central government, in return, has apparently pledged itself to uncompromising resistance to Japanese aggression. Opposition to communism has long been the cardinal principle of Japanese policy. It served a multitude of purposes. It has been used as a smoke screen to conceal aggression; it has also been valuable tactically as a means of creating a breach within China and of forestalling an alliance between China and the Soviet Union. The possibility that the events of July 7 may have been deliberately planned to prevent the Kuomintang-Communist alliance from being consummated is supported by the fact that Japan has included the suppression of communism in its four demands for a settlement of the immediate controversy.

There still remains the question why Japanese troops were maneuvering late at night in Chinese territory. Technically, the Boxer Protocol gives Japan a right to station troops in Peiping. Most of the leading powers, including the United States, maintain small detachments in the former legation quarter. But in addition to its troops in Peiping, the Japanese have maintained a detachment at Fengtai, a strategic railway junction southeast of the city. In an attempt to justify this obvious infringement of Chinese sovereignty, the Japanese have cited the provision in the Boxer Protocol giving the powers the right to keep the railway open between Peiping and the sea. But this still does not explain the presence of the Japanese troops at Lukouchiao, which is some distance from the Peiping-Tientsin railway.

It is difficult to believe that the Japanese actually wanted a war when they planned these night maneuvers. All that was probably intended was an impressive demonstration of military prowess such as has been successful in the past. Japan has little to gain and much to lose by a war with China. It already has as large a colonial empire as it can handle in Korea, Manchuria, and North China. Without railroads and highways, it would be impossible to overrun the whole or even the larger part of Chinese territory. Moreover, the Chinese army must not be discounted. Numerically it is much larger than any the Japanese could possibly put in the field. While the greater part of it is wholly unfit for modern warfare, there are units, comprising several hundred thousand soldiers, which in equipment, training, and morale are at least the equals of the Japanese. If Japan were motivated solely by self-interest it would avoid war regardless of the loss of "face" that might be involved in backing down at this late date. But it is the law of aggression that there can be no turning back.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Reelect La Guardia

"THERE is no *Ersatz* for justice," said Fiorello La Guardia, Mayor of New York, recently, in one of those flashes of wit and wisdom which he often shows. It was a body blow to Hitler and all the dictators, for to that sentiment there is no answer possible. It was even more effective than his remark that Hitler ought to be in a chamber of horrors—a statement that I applauded; a statement that got so completely under the skin of the Führer that his errand-boy, the Ambassador in Washington, had to run to Secretary Hull. It is this frank speaking which makes the Mayor so likable and helps to make me eager for his renomination and reelection. I want an official in the City Hall who is not afraid to say what he thinks; who is not considering every minute what he ought to say lest he make some slip or offend somebody. Let us thank heaven Fiorello has so much of the Italian in him—if that is what causes him to say things to make dictators wince and set ambassadors running.

As the years go by the little Mayor seems to shrink in height and get rounder and rounder. On the back seat of his limousine he almost sinks out of sight, especially if he swings from the right-hand door the writing table ingeniously attached to it and goes to work on a pile of official documents in order to save time. The supersensitive are sometimes shocked when the Mayor appears. They say he lacks the impressiveness, the dignity, the fine appearance one might expect in the head of the greatest American city. But no one can listen to La Guardia very long without being impressed and forgetting his physical attributes. He was not too small to be one of the few Congressmen to do what all should have done who voted for the war—go abroad, learn to fight, and go to the front. Here is a genuine personality, hot-headed, perhaps inconsiderate, certainly no dandy, and quite the politician, yet an honest, fearless man withal, lovable in spite of his mistakes, for his humor, his courage, his refusal to respect human monstrosities because they happen to be in seats of power.

Errors? Quite enough. I, for one, have a genuine grudge against him. He asked some of us to serve on a committee to report on the evil conditions which led to the Harlem riots of 1935. We worked hard and conscientiously, only to have our work go largely for nothing because the Mayor received our reports and then delayed their publication for months until their timeliness and much of their effectiveness were gone. He insisted that before publication he must submit each report to heads of his departments criticized, and these gentlemen, perhaps understanding the game, jolly well took their time about replying. So Harlem thinks the Mayor's commission was a dud, and I can't quarrel with its thinking so. Had I been chairman, I should have released each report to the press the day after it was laid on the Mayor's desk, and to the devil with his consideration for his departmental heads. Most of them are not personally responsible for the errors and sins charged to their departments, for the city's abominable neglect of its colored people goes back at least to slavery days. But whether these officials are innocent or guilty of neglect, we were appointed not to regard their feelings and waste our time, but to tell the truth as we saw it.

There are plenty besides myself who have their sore spots. Some deservedly so. I have no sympathy with the complaint of the machine Republicans. Their grievance is at bottom that Fiorello has honored himself by not giving them more jobs and perquisites. Others have genuine cause for complaint because of this omission or that commission. Those of us who have for years fought the third-degree wickedness of the police grieve deeply that the Mayor killed the bill at Albany to end the disgraceful torturing that goes on in our prisons and police stations. The city has a right to growl some because Fiorello is one of those executives who seek to do everything themselves and are constantly behindhand or behind time—he sometimes fairly disappears behind the papers piled up on his desk. Work? Yes, he works all the time. Never in my lifetime has there been a Mayor who worked as hard or conscientiously and took so little time off for himself. Politics in his office? Yes, quite a little, for after all he is a politician, but I have not been able to say of a single act that he took the stand he did to advance his political fortunes. If he were thinking of himself and his future many of those fine "wisecracks" would die upon his lips. And as for honesty! Never have we had in the City Hall anyone more certainly or completely honest, more rigidly set against all graft, all favoritism.

So there he sits, and there he should be kept, this apparently cherubic Mayor. But cherubic he is not. He gets righteously and gloriously mad too often, mad against injustice, against any pretended *Ersatz* for justice, against those who bear down on the poor and struggling. He *is* for the underdog; he *is* for the disadvantaged; he *is* for labor; he *is* against special privilege, and he has proved it over and over again. Less important but true is it that as a whole his administration of New York stands unsurpassed for its great record of achievement in almost every line in the face of terrific social and financial odds, unequaled in its freedom from scandal. Under no mayor that I can recall has the city gone forward so steadily, so sanely, so economically, in short, just as the American metropolis ought to serve its people and ought to rise higher and higher in the scale of decency and humane trusteeship for all within its boundaries. I am for La Guardia's renomination and reelection, first and last and all the time.

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HOW GERMANY PERSECUTES WRITERS

BY LION FEUCHTWANGER

THE resolution which the German group has submitted to the congress* is in no wise prompted by political considerations, but emerges from a sincere and profound anxiety for German literature, which we consider a notable part of world literature. As you are aware, this protest is directed against the German government's interference with the activities of a large number of German authors who stand opposed to the regime, and against its attempts to defame them in the eyes of the public at large.

Book catalogues before Hitler's advent had listed about 10,000 German authors. It is not easy to discover objectively which of these writers enjoyed eminence and reputation within Germany. If one applies as a yardstick the size of the editions and the number and fervor of the reviews—at best, a rough measuring device, although there is scarcely a better one—it appears that out of these 10,000 authors roughly 100 may have been of importance within the boundaries of Germany. It is somewhat easier to ascertain which of these authors were renowned outside Germany—*i.e.,* were of world importance. American scholars have been at pains to answer this question.

As a basis for their calculation they took into account the number of translations, the size of editions of such translated works, and the number of reviews exceeding fifty lines in length. In this manner they reached the conclusion that eleven authors writing in the German language enjoy world reputations.

The figures which I now have the honor to place before you are based on booksellers' statistics which endeavor to be as objective as possible. From these statistics it appears that of the one hundred authors who were highly regarded within Germany twelve are still living within its boundaries. Even if one adds to them, to maintain complete objectivity, the authors Hitler, Goebbels, and Rosenberg, they number only fifteen. Of the authors who, according to these methods of calculation, are of international importance, just two are living within the German frontiers—if one includes Hitler the author, there are three.

I beg of you to consider these figures; they are worth thinking about. We believe that the literature of a country cannot flourish when its most important representatives are forced to live outside the country in which their language is spoken. We believe that such a condition is harmful not only to the individuals concerned but also to the country itself—indeed, to the world. It must also follow that the German language, both spoken and written, must lose in vigor and purity from month to month, and that, in consequence, all intellectual life must suffer.

Permit me now to tell you something of the petty warfare carried on by the German government against German authors who, like ourselves, are living in exile. You can scarcely imagine, dear colleagues, the meanness and spitefulness of this struggle.

The German authorities were not content to prohibit and to burn the books of these authors. The property of many of them has been confiscated, the homes and libraries of some have been pillaged and destroyed, and the most prominent of these writers have been deprived of their citizenship, so that, without papers of identification, they are robbed of their liberty and freedom. Furthermore, the official German publishers and booksellers threaten with every form of reprisal foreign publishers and booksellers who print or sell works of these exiled German men of letters. Moreover, the authorities drove a good bargain by exiling those writers who do not support the Nazi cause. For example, they did not destroy all the copies of the books which were so spectacularly consigned to the flames. A great number of them were saved, and these copies, with the approval of the authorities, were shipped abroad and sold. The German government therefore has permitted books which were suppressed within Germany as poisonous and destructive to be offered and sold to Germans abroad. The authors, however, were not credited with the royalties from the sale of these books; the profits thus made were returned as foreign exchange into the coffers of the Reich government. It thus became impossible for an author to have his works reprinted abroad, because the market was glutted with these cut-price books, which the German government had ordered sold without paying the writer the profit to which he was entitled.

The German government has used its entire state machinery to prosecute this campaign against the free German authors. The government-controlled newspapers and the government-controlled radio proclaim that these authors are guilty of high treason; they even attribute to their literary activity the vilest of motives. One and all, we are corrupt and bribed. The official organs of the German government publish the exact figures. I, for instance, am supposed to have received 450,000 francs. If one believes the German government, those whom the world in general considers representative of German literature are scoundrels and fools—with the exception of the two who remain in Germany.

* Lion Feuchtwanger, noted German author, now in exile, headed a delegation of his countrymen to the Fifteenth International Congress of the Pen Club in Paris last month, on which occasion he delivered the above address.

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In its classical period, German literature gave currency to the idea of a universal literature and a commonwealth of learning. Its representatives, in the finest sense of the word, were cosmopolitans. They would have turned away in disgust from the program of self-sufficiency which now trammels all intellectual life in the Reich, and many of their works read as if they were protests against what is going on in Germany today.

I think, dear colleagues, we all have good reason to protest vigorously against the methods with which the German government persecutes the free German author. It seems to me that this is a fight which concerns not only the writers of Germany but all who are interested in literature.

Therefore the German group asks the Fifteenth International Congress of the Pen Club to resolve:

"The fight which the German government is waging against the German author Karl von Ossietzky, winner of the Nobel Prize, is unworthy of a cultured state. Unworthy of a cultured state are, furthermore, the methods by which this same government tries to prevent a great number of noted German authors who remain steadfast to their convictions from the pursuit of their craft. The congress disapproves of these methods and protests against them."

BOOKS

Pitimini's Advocate

SPAIN: A TRAGIC JOURNEY. By F. Theo Rogers. The Macauley Company. $2.50.

THIS book is dedicated to the proposition that General Franco (known in Spain as Pitimini, on account of his treble voice and hysterical nature) is the savior of the Spanish people. The reader is informed in an introduction, on the dust-cover, and in all the ads that Mr. Rogers is a liberal newspaperman who was a sympathizer with the republic when he went to Spain but later turned to Franco as the only hope because of what he saw. We are assured of this by the Reverend Francis Talbot, S.J., and by Mr. Rogers himself.

No one, says Mr. Rogers, could have been better equipped than he to judge between the two sides without partiality. If his opinions diverge sharply from the findings of the great majority of foreign newspapermen who have been reporting the war, it is because they were not as well equipped as he to ascertain the true facts. The best people, he says, can be fooled: witness a British Catholic M.P. named McGovern who went to look on his own and came out sympathetic to Madrid. Mr. Rogers speaks Spanish, has lived for many years in the Philippines, and went on vacation trips to Spain, where all the nicest people called him Theo. Mahatma Gandhi calls him Theo too. When he got to Barcelona in July, certain wealthy friends told him the army was going to take over the government in order to save Spain. It was to be a "democratic uprising," backed by "everybody" in Spain—everybody, that is to say, except the populace, which, as Mr. Rogers is sure, is made up of Anarchists and thugs. True, the republican government was a legally elected government, but it wasn't democratic and it wasn't a government, because there was so much unrest and so many strikes. Only one man, Gil Robles, could have saved the country. But the president wouldn't hand the government over, so what could the army and the best people do?

Mr. Rogers was in Barcelona on July 19. If one pauses to consider the thesis of his book, the two pages in which he describes the fighting make odd reading. He classifies the contenders as "the military" and the "Popular Army" consisting of "civil guards, national guards, and the mob." What Theo Rogers saw from his balcony is worth quoting:

> Slowly the military seemed to be gaining the upper hand. Suddenly there was a lull. Some one from the Barcelona mob shouted in stentorian tones, "Soldiers, brothers, why are you fighting us?" And the reply came from a deep-throated infantryman, "We don't know." Then a flag of truce was displayed and there came calls for a conference. . . . The officers could do nothing to prevent fraternizing. All the soldiers knew was that they had been ordered out with war equipment, told that the watchword was "Viva España." . . . It did not take long for the orators of the mob to convince the soldiers that theirs was the side of oppression. . . . Before this spectator could realize it, the soldiers, almost in a body, had changed sides.

Yet Mr. Rogers maintains that "the military" represents the true Spain and that even in Catalonia 90 per cent of the people favor them. The reason for that, he says, is to be found in the atrocities committed by the Popular Army. In Barcelona Mr. Rogers himself did not see any. He was in a house that was fired on and searched, and in that case the Popular militia not only hurt no one but actually left a guard to watch over the family of the big tobacco industrialist Theo was staying with. Theo walked around until late that night with a little white dog at his heels and nobody bothered him, but he attributes that to the probable intervention of his mother in heaven. The rest he knows only from hearsay, but he assures you that it's reliable hearsay. You can take his word for the atrocities.

Mr. Rogers's vacation was spoiled, and you would think he would have gone home after the war broke out, yet he stayed six months longer. He tells in detail how he got wealthy friends out of Spain by using his American passport and threats of American destroyers (many of these friends are now working elsewhere for Franco). Mr. Rogers also relates how helpful the American consul Lynn Franklin was. The Ambassador evidently wouldn't cooperate, thereby earning the contempt of Mr. Rogers. Theo then went to Biarritz, where there was "a gay cosmopolitan circle," practically all of them dukes and counts and all of them very helpful to Franco. Rogers went into Pitimini's Spain, where he held conferences, he says, with the chiefs. He also saw a good deal of Franco's head press-agent, Major Bollins. From end to end of Franco's territory, he says, he saw not a single Italian. He did see Moors, but his Moors are Spaniards. On the other hand he knows from absolutely reliable hearsay that there are whole regiments of Russians on the Madrid front. Needless to say, the conferences with Pitimini and his friends convinced Theo that their cause was a sacred one.

Next Mr. Rogers, still on vacation it would seem, went to London and through the influence of Marcus Samuel addressed the Commons on behalf of Franco. After that he came to this country, where he saw President Roosevelt and a number of other people in the same cause. No doubt he urged recognition of Franco and the granting of belligerent rights. Mr. Rogers finds it lamentable that in America Franco is regarded as a fascist. To be sure, the general admires

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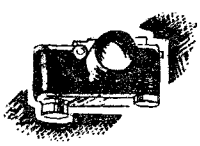
Which Brands Are Best Buys?

Consumers Union Reports for July give you unbiased judgments of experts on the products below—in most cases with ratings, based on laboratory and use tests, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable"



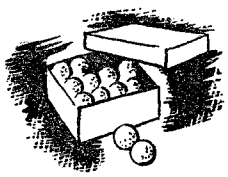
Miniature Cameras

WHICH IS BETTER—LEICA OR CONTAX?

Camera experts report on the comparative quality of over 40 leading makes of American and foreign made miniature cameras—including Leica, Contax, Rolleiflex. Eastman Bantam Special, Korelle, National Graflex, Argus, and Retina.

Electric Fans

Tests of 22 models show marked differences in efficiency between apparently similar fans. Only one is rated a "Best Buy."



Golf Balls

THERE'S A 30-YARD DIFFERENCE

between the yardage you can get from one of the good balls in this test and one of the poor ones. Sixteen brands are rated.

Summer Gasolines

SAVING 1 TO 4c ON EACH GAL.

Sixty-seven samples from the East, South, Mid-West, and West, including Esso, Sinclair Tydol, Co-op, and Shell, were tested this year. Savings of from one to four cents a gallon can be made on some of the "Best Buys"

Sunburn Preventives

SOME WORK—SOME DON'T

CU's tests of sun oils, lotions, and creams disclosed only one that gave complete protection, three that gave reliable partial protection, five that were fair, and fourteen that were "Not Acceptable."

Bathing Suits

Seven women's and seven men's models were tested. The most expensive suit tested had very poor colorfastness to sunlight. The cheapest suit tested had the best colorfastness to sunlight.

Tennis Balls

AND RACKETS

One of the most popular balls was the poorest

Leading brands of balls, rackets and strings are rated as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable" and "Not Acceptable." American-made balls compare very poorly with the best English products.

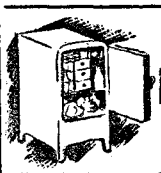
Coming in the August Issue

REPORTS ON

Refrigerators
Inner Tubes
Photographic Films, Exposure Meters, etc.
Raincoats

Start WITH ANY OF THESE ISSUES:

- ☐ Sept.—Shoes. Tires, Whiskies;
- ☐ Oct.—Gins, Electric Razors, Dentifrices;
- ☐ Nov.—Radios, Wines, Children's Shoes;
- ☐ Dec.—Fountain Pens, Vacuum Cleaners, Blankets;
- ☐ Jan.-Feb.—Men's Suits, Cold Remedies, Shaving Creams;
- ☐ March—Autos, Flour, Face Powders;
- ☐ April—Shirts, Cold Creams, Gardening;
- ☐ May—Trailers, Washing Machines, and the first of a series of articles on the causes and treatment of constipation;
- ☐ June—Large Cameras. House Dresses, Radio Tubes, Sanitary Napkins.



MECHANICAL Refrigerators

Ratings of 1937 Models

Westinghouse, Coldspot, Ward's, Leonard, and Crosley models are rated in this issue on the basis of performance tests. The August issue of the *Reports* will carry information, including ratings, on a number of other makes.

Motor Oils

CHEAP OILS ARE "BEST BUYS"

Summer oils from 13 to 20 cents a quart are rated as "Best Buys." Several 25 and 35 cent oils are rated "Not Acceptable." Penn-Rad, New Texaco, Atlantic, Mobiloil, and Essolube included in tests.

Ice Boxes

Fifteen models rated. Recent models show great improvement over ice boxes of past years.

Constipation

The third of a series of articles. This one deals with "auto-intoxication" and the symptoms associated with constipation.

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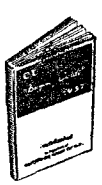

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the totalitarian system, and it is true he is a dictator and has declared that the corporative state would be a good idea for Spain. Yet, like Theo himself, Pitimini is not only a staunch liberal but God's gift to suffering Spain. Rogers really uses language like that.

The Reverend Francis Talbot, S.J., and Sir Willmott Lewis vouch for the integrity of Mr. Rogers. If he tells stories he can't prove and if he twists facts to fit these stories and if he sees Spain from the same angle as Juan March and Hitler, that's just his liberal, impartial, and objective outlook. Another introduction—the book is full of testimonials—says that Theo is a fine fellow, and honest, too. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt wrote that one for him.

ANITA BRENNER

History and Case History

NORTHWEST PASSAGE. By Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.75.

THE WHEEL TURNS. By Gian Dàuli. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE historical novel offers the reader an escape from contemporary realities, just as it offers the author an escape from any significant literary problems and judgments. Its concern is with the arrangement rather than with the interpretation of fact, and the author's task is one of carpentry and reconstruction rather than of creation. Its value, consequently, depends more upon the reader's mood than any literary qualities inherent in the work, while the author's talent is almost determined by his ability to render facts unconvincing and to surround recorded events with the atmosphere of fictitiousness and unreality. Kenneth Roberts's talent is of just this kind. His pre-Revolutionary yarn reads like a schoolboy's dream of the Wild West. Its action seems hallucinated, its characters somnambulistic. History itself seems reduced to melodramatic implausibility. What saves the book from the furnace and provides its substance and coherence quite beyond Mr. Roberts's ingenuity is fact. Fact comes to the rescue of inferior writing, just as the writing itself often enlivens the fact. Blustering heroism and blood-and-thunder claptrap, when based on real events, cannot avoid the ring of authenticity—even if the authenticity is not the author's own. Accuracy of detail and conscientious research are Mr. Roberts's saving grace. His work is otherwise undistinguishable from the blood-curdling paper-backed G. A. Henty of another generation. Briefly, "Northwest Passage" is an account of Colonel Rogers and the Rogers Rangers, of their adventures during the French and Indian wars, of the taking of the Indian stronghold of St. Francis, of hunger and death and heroism, of Rogers in London, of his attempt to discover the Northwest Passage, of his humiliation and disgrace in debtors' jail, and finally of his exploits against the Colonials during the American Revolution. Rogers is variously represented as childishly naive, poetically brave, superbly heroic, incorrigibly human, as versatile as Da Vinci, as much of a "card" as Davy Crockett. Those are, unfortunately, literary rather than statistical dimensions, and Mr. Roberts's hero does not carry them with convincing aplomb. The lesser characterizations, on the other hand, are automatized, facilitate the movement of the narrative, and do general justice to Mr. Roberts's research.

In contrast to Kenneth Roberts's novelized history, we have Gian Dàuli's novelized case history. Where one author concerns himself with the fact, the other is preoccupied with the "act" and its relationship to the individual in terms of his past, his immediate environment, and his early habits. If Mr. Dàuli had, in turn, related the individual to society, generalized the "act" (which in this case happens to be prompted by sexual unbalance) into causes external to the individual himself, "The Wheel Turns" would be a significant portrait of the decay of the bourgeoisie.

But Mr. Dàuli's method, like the psychiatrist's, is particularized; the individual is interpreted as an isolated "consciousness" whose subjective realities have merely an accidental reference to the greater realities of the world outside. Giovannino is neurotic because his mother and father were neurotic. The cause of their neuroticism, however, is never analyzed or explained. The gradual dissolution of the entire Penta family, their fall from middle-class respectability to beggary and insanity, though brilliant in its recital, is no more general in its implications than the predicament of a household suffering from a special disease. The tragedy of Giovannino himself—his fixation on the victim of a boyhood seduction, his final degradation and death—is, one feels, the result of Giovannino's own weakness in his conflict with himself. Mr. Dàuli's treatment is clinical in its fatalism. The enemy of the Pentas is too invisible, too internal; their struggle becomes mystic and futile, just as their defeat, unrelated as it is to an objective force, loses meaning and dramatic inevitability.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE

Everlasting Yea and Everlasting No

THE POWER TO GOVERN: THE CONSTITUTION—THEN AND NOW. By Walton H. Hamilton and Douglass Adair. W. W. Norton. $2.50.

"THE Power to Govern" is not just another bolt in the current "storm over the Constitution." Like so many others of late, the authors have drawn heavily upon the words of the men who wrote our constitutional scripture; but they have done more than pile up *ipse-dixits* in support of the New Deal proposition that "the power is there." They have succeeded in recreating the economic climate of opinion in which the founding fathers were nurtured.

Their starting point is the majority opinion in the Guffey Coal case, in which Justice Sutherland liquidated the power to govern on the grounds of an alleged constitutional distinction between commerce and manufacture. The authors deny such a distinction, and proceed to give "the learned Justice" an elementary lesson in the rudiments of American constitutional text. Their immediate purpose is to point out that by "commerce" the Constitution meant something entirely different from what latter-day judicial glossators have made it mean. But in doing this they are led to reconstruct the general economic backdrop against which the framers at Philadelphia played their parts. Their most creative research has been devoted to laying bare the underlying drives of eighteenth-century historical development in the mother country and the colonies. Their appeal from the Supreme Court has been not so much to Philadelphia scripture as to that final arbiter which Hegel called "the world court" of history.

The verdict is unanimous, and Justice Sutherland's definition is read out of court. To an enlightened eighteenth-century statesman, whether in Paris or London or at the Philadelphia convention, the word "commerce" denoted the organic sum total of economic activities which distinguished

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the mercantilistic type of economy from more primitive types. There was no basis, in eighteenth-century usage, for setting off "manufacture" from "commerce." "Commerce" was the seamless web that a market economy spins for itself; a web which by the eighteenth century had become the mantle of national prestige and imperial unity.

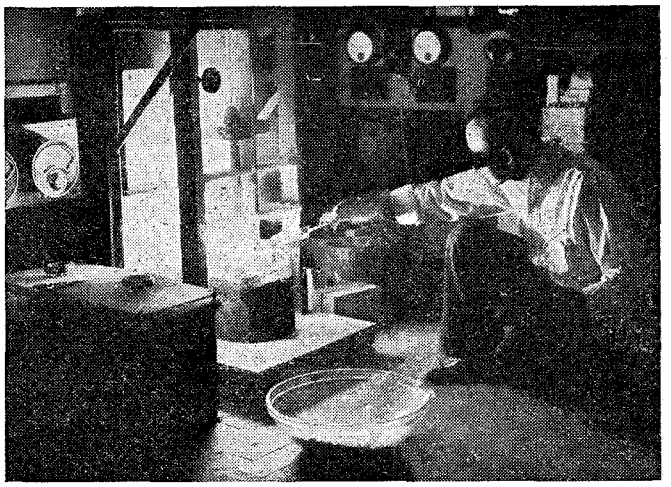
The story is told of Flaubert, that when he asked Gautier the secret of becoming a good writer, he was advised to spend most of his time studying the dictionary. It remained for the authors of this book to reveal so delightfully that the same holds true for the good historian of ideas. Until we have had the patience to do for words like "liberalism," "constitution," "constituent power," "democracy," what Professor Hamilton and Mr. Adair have done for the word "commerce," we shall not know where we stand in our fight for the power to govern.

But the authors have not set "the new constitution" of 1787 in quite as historically accurate perspective as they have intended. The high lights of "the constitution then" they have painted in with telling effect; but they have not dealt nearly so effectively with the shadows. The work of the men at Philadelphia was flooded with the light of eighteenth-century mercantilism; but it was also suffused in the long shadow cast by the Middle Ages. Legislators like Hamilton and Madison officiated at a strange marriage between mercantilism and medievalism. And whereas mercantilism was synonymous with power to govern, medievalism was synonymous with non-power to govern. The American Revolution was more than a struggle between two rival camps of mercantilists; it was a struggle between the advocates of the modern doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and the advocates of the medieval doctrine of a limited constitution.

Because the founding fathers understood and feared the full implications of the power of the democratic majority to govern, they made provision in their document for the anti-governmental tradition which the American colonists had transplanted from Stuart England. Because of their fears that the democratic majority might turn out to be proletarian in its instincts, the framers of the "limited constitution" of 1787 sought to restrain that majority by reinvoking the nebulous law of the Middle Ages—that "brooding omnipresence in the skies" about which the skeptical Justice Holmes liked to twit his fundamentalist brethren. Because they could never be too sure that their quasi-aristocratic senate and their quasi-monarchic executive could really hold out against concerted democratic pressure, they hit upon the formula of an irresponsible Supreme Court which might serve as the carrier of the older medieval concepts of judge-declared law and non-power government.

It is worth remembering that in its recent rebuttal to the New Deal proposition that "the power is there," the Senate Judiciary Committee directed one of its most telling appeals to the "arch-mercantilist" Alexander Hamilton. For it was the author of the 78th and 81st Federalist Papers who by verbal contortions and subtle misreadings of authorities explained away an irresponsible judiciary on the ground that there must be someone in the government with sufficient "fortitude," as he expressed it, to utter a final, unappealable "no" to the duly declared wishes of the majority of voters. It is this "everlasting no" of the Middle Ages which the authors of "The Power to Govern" have tended to drown out with their "everlasting yea" of mercantilism.

From the democratic point of view, the authors have done yeoman service in disproving the notion that the founding fathers believed in *laissez faire*. But the power of the people



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to govern is beset by an even more redoubtable adversary than the myth of *laissez faire*. The "brooding omnipresence" of the Middle Ages, as reembodied in American constitutional logic, is a far more difficult ghost to lay. In coming to grips with the second adversary we cannot turn to our Philadelphia ancestors with any real confidence. There is plenty of 1787 scripture substantiating the right of an irresponsible judiciary to say "no." So it would pay us to dispense with the notion of a race of giants before the flood, on whose broad shoulders we can proceed to doze. The founding fathers were living in as profoundly transitional an era as we are. Their thinking encountered as many dilemmas as our own. The incipient democratic movement of 1937 will not get very far toward the realization of its own objectives by resting on the authority of the distinguished anti-democrats who said so-and-so about so-and-so one hundred and fifty years ago.

EDWIN MIMS, JR.

In Bothwell's Defense

LORD BOTHWELL AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. By Robert Gore-Browne. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $4.

BOTH the defamers and the glorifiers of Mary Stuart found it convenient to blacken the memory of Bothwell, says his biographer. He has been portrayed as a vicious and sinister figure, murderer, and seducer; at best a great lover and fighter; criminal, but with vices which were the tribute forced from his strength by his passions and the barbarous and confused duplicities which surrounded him. Mr. Gore-Browne takes a different view. He has spent seven years of research to build up a picture of a statesman and patriot, loyal to his country and to his queen both before and after she became his wife; no angel, but superior to his enemies in religious tolerance, generosity, and honesty. Such a radical reconstruction necessarily affects every big scene in the tragedy of Mary Stuart, and where light is thrown on the dark figure of Bothwell it illumines also that of Mary.

In the welter of politico-religious and dynastic strife, involving nations, groups, and individuals in complex and unstable relationships, a network of double-dealing and crime, it is difficult to follow the shuttle of demonstration with clear perception and judgment. There are eighty-four chief figures in the drama as here presented, and the treatment is often, and especially in the most crucial matter of all—the murder of Darnley—confused and inconclusive. But certain important points are made, it seems to me, convincingly. The long casket letter and the sonnets, the author holds, were not written by Mary but by Anna Throndsen, Bothwell's Danish sweetheart, whom he deserted and who reappears in the last act by a trivial coincidence, unwittingly to seal his fate in a Danish dungeon.

The analysis of the letters, of the interpolations and forgeries held to have been combined with the words of Anna and possibly of Bothwell's wife, is consistent with the author's view of the relations of Bothwell and Mary. Their marriage was not one of passion but of reason on his side, of resignation on hers. Bothwell saw the snares closing in on him and thought that only as her husband and as king could he be safe, and only under his guidance could she be so. Yet on Mary's part one is permitted to surmise a growing affection after the fact and, in both, a sustained and necessary loyalty to each other. Bothwell is acquitted of the actual murder of Darnley, who, forewarned in some way, is seen rushing

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out of the house to be killed by his enemies outside, but the suggestion that Bothwell touched off the explosion and the explanation of his doing so leave both the quantity and the quality of his guilt and the act itself in doubt.

Certain aspects of this devoted and searching study impress one, particularly its air of realism and reasonableness. In spite of gaps and discrepancies, Mary and Bothwell seem more understandable in this version than in most others, less romanticized and fantastic for good or evil; and even though the character of Bothwell is hardly consistent with the author's complete intention, yet its inconsistency is psychologically convincing enough as the opportunistic struggle with forces too strong for him. Mary's tendency to trust and forgive the wrong persons appears as a major element in their fate, but one is glad to see her rescued from the sultry "womanliness" of Zweig's conception.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN

A Rural Strain

HOUNDS ON THE MOUNTAIN. By James Still. The Viking Press. $2.

COUNTRY MEN. By James Hearst. The Prairie Press: Muscatine, Iowa. $2.

THESE two books of regional pastorals prove that the poetic huntsmen are similarly up in the Middle West. In each instance the work of these young Americans springs from a single locale and expresses itself in what is almost a single vein: Mr. Still sings in a hushed, though more bitter-edged, voice of the highland farmer and the highland flowers of Troublesome Creek, Kentucky, while Mr. Hearst, introduced with restraint by Miss Suckow, confines his more muted songs to descriptions of Iowa exteriors. Both poets appear to have taken to heart the preface to the "Lyrical Ballads." Certainly they go the full way with Wordsworth and Coleridge in believing that the principal end of the poet should be to choose the incidents and situations of common life and render them in familiar language.

The common things of rural character and rural scenery out of which Mr. Still and Mr. Hearst make their poetry stand upon daily knowledge. The titles are homespun and suggest the Frostian influence. Mr. Hearst writes of Farm on a Summer Night, of Cows Bawl on Sunday, of Spring Plowing, of When a Neighbor Dies; and Mr. Still uses mountain preachers, horse-traders, passenger pigeons, fox-hunting, and mountain dulcimers for his subject matter.

Mr. Still, by reason of his illative mind and his broader sympathies, seems the better poet. He gains his effects by a slow, cumulative method and through the compressed line that opens suddenly to allow a sheer, sudden ingress of light. In Spring on Troublesome Creek and Pattern for Death the concentrate of awareness and close imagery distinguishes his poetry from the more facile but looser observations of Mr. Hearst, and from those of his fellow-Kentuckian, Mr. Jesse Stuart, whose bucolics have been lately over-drummed.

Neither of the poets under review seems much concerned with the new struggles and the pressing fears of the moment, although Mr. Still, in his small section Earth-bound, writes of the bleak mountain coal towns with a cold inner fury. But for the most part, both poets write detailed descriptive observation that is confined to comment upon life and death, the seasonal changes, and man and nature within what appears to be a static society.

STANLEY YOUNG

HELP
the Scottsboro Boys

By the conviction, with death as the penalty, of Clarence Norris on July 15, Alabama has served notice that regardless of everything, she means to go on demanding the blood of the nine youthful defendants in the world-famous Scottsboro case.

The remaining defendants have been ordered to trial in a sort of chain-belt system at the rate of two a week, one on Monday and another on Thursday.

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Letters to the Editors

Challenging Mr. Villard

Dear Sirs: In his column Issues and Men in *The Nation* of July 10 Oswald Garrison Villard writes: "With England in an alliance with Hitler, what would become of the passionate demand of so many of our American liberals that we be ready to go to war in behalf of the democracies?"

Mr. Villard is not the first to make the charge that American liberals, meaning those who are giving vigorous support to the Spanish Loyalists, are in favor of American participation in a war between the democracies and the fascist powers. But no one, so far as I know, has made the charge in such outright fashion as Mr. Villard does here.

It is time that the accused liberals ask for names and quotations. I know many American liberals who passionately denounce our present embargo regulations. But not once have I heard or read the suggestion, not to speak of a "passionate demand," that America should participate in a war on behalf of democracy against fascism.

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has taken a leading part in asking American sympathy and support for Spain in her struggle against fascism, and one imagines that if anyone must plead guilty to Mr. Villard's indictment it would be the leaders of this committee. Bishop Francis J. McConnell is its chairman and wholeheartedly supports its work. I challenge Mr. Villard to find the slightest justification for his attack in anything written or said by Bishop McConnell or by any other executive of the committee. Dr. Harry F. Ward, another liberal who has spoken often and vigorously in defense of the Spanish Loyalists and criticized our so-called neutrality, has declared explicitly that he does not favor American participation in a war against the fascists, and precisely for the same reason Mr. Villard gives—that it would mean a dictatorship here.

It will not do for Mr. Villard to reply that agitation against our present embargo regulations is equivalent to a demand that America go to war against fascism. Indeed, if anything is calculated to make a general war inevitable, it is refusal of aid to a democracy fighting for its life and the granting of aid to warring fascism. Nor can Mr. Villard claim that even the most vigorous speaking and writing in defense of the Spanish Loyalists or the solicitation of money for humanitarian relief in Loyalist Spain constitutes a "passionate demand" that the United States be ready to go to war. He might as well say that his own denunciation of the Nazis is a request that the United States go to war with Germany.

HERMAN F. REISSIG

New York, July 12

Not Guilty

Dear Sirs: Since Mr. Reissig gratuitously assumes that I referred in my article of July 10 to the American liberals who are supporting the Spanish Loyalists, I suspect that his letter is nothing but a would-be clever publicity stunt for the benefit of the organization which employs him.

The simple truth is that I did not have the members of any organization, or any liberals working for Spain, specifically in mind. But I did mean to refer to a number of American liberals who deliberately take the position that we must if necessary go to war for the so-called democracies if they are attacked by the dictators. Recently, for instance, in a group of some thirty liberals only myself and one other spoke up against the attitude in favor of going to war on behalf of democracy. I had also in mind the editorial policy of *The Nation* which points in that direction.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

New York, July 13

Staggering Statement

Dear Sirs: My attention has been drawn to an article in your issue of April 24 by Frank C. Hanighen entitled The War for Raw Materials in Spain. The point which interests me particularly is the somewhat staggering statement that "Sir Andrew McFadyean, commercial director [of Rio Tinto] vociferously proclaims his sympathy for the rebels."

The consistency of my views is of no particular importance to anyone but myself, and I am not so foolish as to suppose that my name is known in the United States except to a few valued friends. It happens, however, that I am associated in a humble capacity in my own country with liberal views and policies, and as your journal deservedly circulates in Europe, this must be my excuse for asking you to correct a statement which is devoid of any foundation.

I severed all connection with the Rio Tinto Company on March 31, 1936. I can hardly, therefore, as commercial director of that company have expressed views, vociferously or otherwise, on rebels who did not come into existence until many weeks thereafter.

So far as my memory serves, I have made no public utterance about the Spanish situation. It is of course difficult to remember everything one has said in private, but it is not difficult for an honest man to remember the things that he has not said, and I can assert, without claiming to possess a particularly retentive memory, that I have never in private expressed "my sympathy with the rebels." On the contrary, I hold, and must have expressed, the view that it would be an unspeakable outrage if a properly constituted government were overthrown by a section of the population which can only batter its way to power with the aid of Moorish soldiers, the Foreign Legion, and foreign troops.

ANDREW MCFADYEAN

London, May 1

Apology with Notations

Dear Sirs: First of all I acknowledge my mistake in designating Sir Andrew as managing director of Rio Tinto during the present Spanish Civil War. At the time I wrote the article, last March, all available reference books—the British Stock Exchange Manual and the Directory of Directors—so listed him. In the new manuals, just out, this has been corrected.

An international publicist of high reputation who had met Sir Andrew abroad in October, 1936, conveyed to me in conversation the distinct impression that Sir Andrew was "vociferously" sympathetic to the rebels. A distinguished historian who was present at this conversation tells me that he received the same impression. My informant, however, now wishes to correct this impression. He says that Sir Andrew was very critical of the Spanish government because of its labor policy but did not take a stand in favor of the rebels.

Since neither my informant nor witness wishes to be quoted I apologize—

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and rejoice that such a prominent public figure as Sir Andrew (I cannot accept his description of himself as "humble"—after all, he was secretary to the Reparations Commission from 1922-1924 and Commissioner of Controlled Revenues in Berlin, 1924-1930) has come out so openly in favor of Spain's "properly constituted government."

May I take this opportunity to do full justice to Rio Tinto in respect to a situation which has changed since I wrote my article? Rio Tinto's last annual report (April 30) stated in by no means disapproving language that after the arrival at its Spanish mines of Franco's troops labor troubles had disappeared and showed that under Franco 30 per cent less labor was required to produce 21 per cent more ore. But Rio Tinto is by no means satisfied. It seems that Franco credits the company at times—"some pesetas received, some owing"—in pesetas at the rate of 40 to the pound sterling, whereas the rate in London is about 70 to the pound sterling. Some millions of pesetas in the company's account are thus of such uncertain value that the balance sheet shows them as worth £7. The British government, according to the report, has assisted Rio Tinto in obtaining concessions from Franco which have "slightly temporarily eased the company's position." But the company still regards the situation as unhappy. And the shares which jumped on the arrival of Franco's troops, reaching a high of 32½, later dropped to 20. Time—and the level of Rio Tinto shares—will tell whether the British government has assisted Rio Tinto further.

FRANK C. HANIGHEN

New York, July 5

Voyage of Discovery

Dear Sirs: In order to make it possible for qualified persons to study the Spanish situation at first hand a trip has been arranged by the Open Road in consultation with Spanish government authorities and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Fifteen carefully selected persons will be admitted to the group, and arrangements are being made in Spain for a genuine study of the social and political as well as the military situation there. It is just as important to understand Spain as it is to sympathize with it, and I believe that a few of your readers may be personally interested in this unusual venture. The group will sail on the *Queen Mary* August 11 and return on the *Aquitania,* arriving on September 14. Information about the trip may be obtained from its leader, Dr. Herman F. Reissig, at the North American Committee, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

ROGER BALDWIN

New York, July 14

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